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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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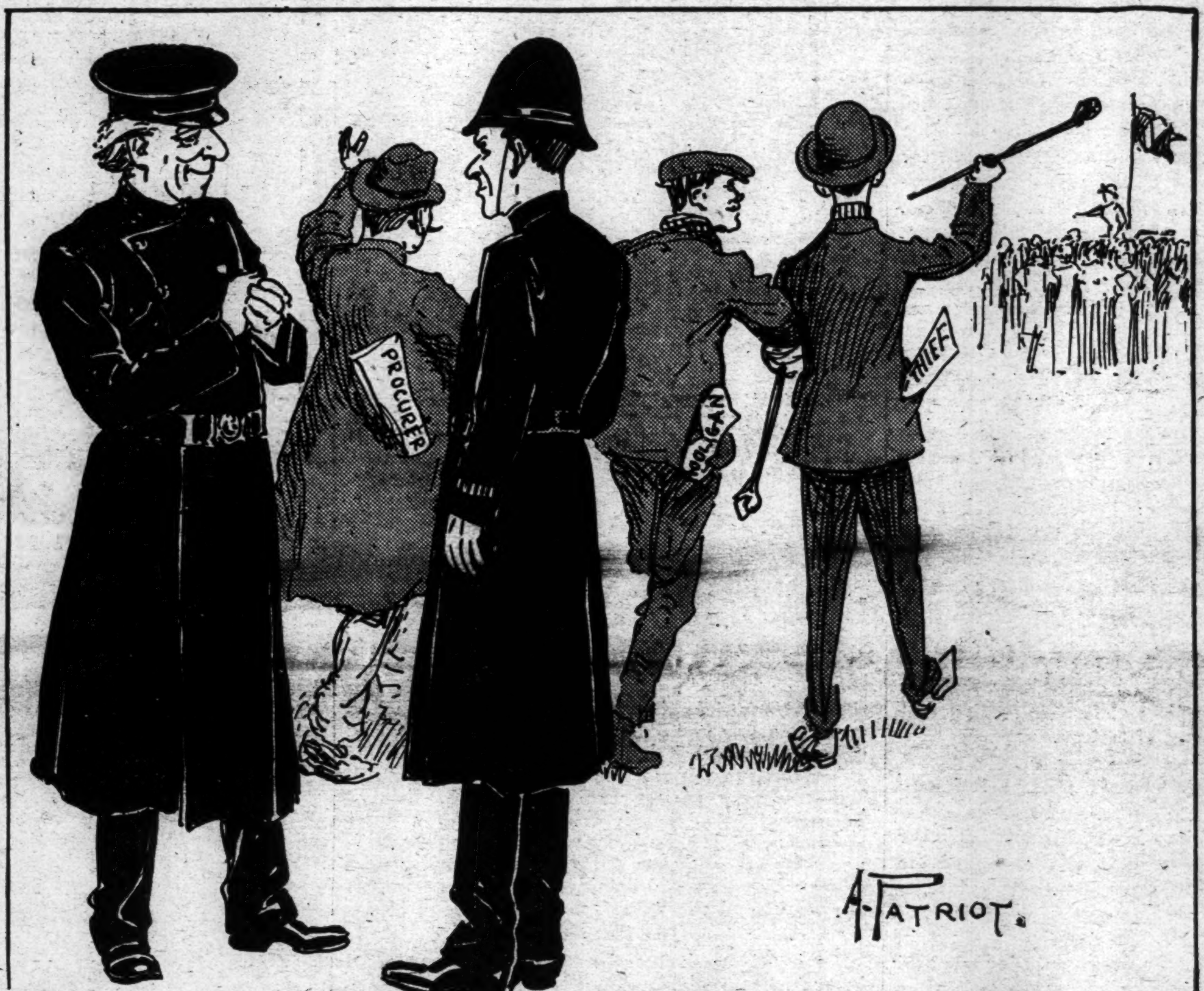
YIELDING TO FORCE



INSPECTOR ASQUITH TO P.C. McKENNA: "We can't stand up against the physical force represented by those three respectable citizens, so if they won't let the meetings go on peaceably you had better prohibit them from being held."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Monday, May 5, and Tuesday, May 6, have been set aside for the second reading debate of Mr. Dickinson's Franchise Bill, designed to confer the Parliamentary vote upon women of 25 years and upwards who are either themselves householders or the wives of householders. Mr. Asquith has promised the House of Commons a "free vote" on this occasion, and Mr. Lloyd George professes himself to be a supporter of the measure. The division lists will therefore be exceptionally interesting; we shall watch carefully to see the votes cast by the Suffragist members of the Irish Party and by the Suffragist Liberals, including such well-known supporters of Mr. Lloyd George as Mr. Masterman and Mr. Crawshay Williams.

The Cat and Mouse Bill

The Cat and Mouse Bill passed through its Committee stage on Monday last in the House of Commons, the eleven o'clock rule being suspended for the purpose. In spite of the general apathy of the House, a damaging criticism of the measure was delivered by a handful of stalwarts, including Mr. Keir Hardie, Sir A. Markham, Mr. M'Curdy, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Ronald M'Neill, Mr. Martin, and even Sir Frederick Banbury. No one attempted to defend the Bill except Mr. McKenna himself and Mr. Ellis Griffith, and even they were compelled to plead urgency in order to secure the rejection of some of the amendments.

The Unfettered Discretion of the Home Secretary

The most important amendment stood in the name of Sir A. Cripps, and was directed towards removing the discretion of the Home Secretary and creating a statutory form of license for prisoners released under the provisions of the Bill. This amendment received a large amount of support, and feeling in the House was certainly favourable to it. Sir A. Markham said the conditions of the license proposed by the Home Secretary were "mean, cruel and unworthy of the House of Commons," and declared that the proposals would "bring the House into ridicule," and would "not be successful in upholding the law." Nevertheless, the amendment was defeated by the application of the Government Whips, the figures being 222 to 117.

The Case of Jane Warton Recalled

The effect of this defeat is that the Home Secretary for the time being will be enabled to vary the terms of the license in individual cases to suit political exigency. The difference in treatment meted out by the present Lord Gladstone to Lady Constance Lytton, imprisoned under her own name and imprisoned as plain Jane Warton, have not yet been forgotten. There is not the least safeguard under the terms of the Bill that the full, barbarous rigour of its provisions will not be applied to persons unknown and of no social importance, while others who have influence will come off lightly.

Not an Alternative to Forcible Feeding

Mr. M'Curdy moved an amendment to secure that persons who had been subjected to forcible feeding would not be liable to rearrest under the Bill; he quoted the case of Leigh v. Gladstone, in which forcible feeding was upheld in a Court of Law, and said that he believed that this decision would to-day be reversed by a higher Court. In his reply, Mr. McKenna made it perfectly clear that he not only refused to abandon forcible feeding, but that he held himself perfectly free to employ both methods in the case of the same prisoner. Only 49 votes were cast in favour of this amendment, 229 being given against.

No Real Redress against False Imprisonment

Mr. Keir Hardie moved an amendment to compel the institution of legal proceedings before prisoner could be rearrested for failing to comply with the terms of her license. In the course of the discussion it was demonstrated that unless this amendment were passed, the Home Secretary might secure the rearrest and reimprisonment of a person on false information, and that the only redress of the prisoner would be to sue the individual policeman who had rearrested her. Yet the obedient House of Commons rejected the amendment by 257 votes to 37. All other amendments, including one from Mr. Hume-Williams, to make the Bill terminate at the end of one year unless renewed, were either defeated or withdrawn.

The Debate as a Whole

On page 430 we give a condensed report of the whole proceedings, but our readers will appreciate that it is absolutely impossible in a weekly paper to do full justice to a discussion which lasted seven hours and which was packed with important arguments from start to finish. We recommend those who desire to appreciate the debate in its entirety to read it in full in the official report. It is contained in the proceedings for April 21, which can be purchased from Wyman and Sons, Fetter Lane, price 3d. They will find there also the division lists, from which they will see how feebly the Labour Party supported Keir Hardie in his efforts to amend the Bill.

Third Reading Carried

The Third Reading of the Bill was carried on Wednesday evening, the figures being 294 to 56. The Bill was vigorously attacked by Mr. Keir Hardie and Sir A. Markham. Mr. McKenna, in the course of his defence, said there were three classes of prisoners he had to consider: those who took their food naturally, those physically capable of forcible feeding, and those whose health was such that they could not be forcibly fed without risk to their health. The Bill would enable him to grant the third class of prisoner a temporary discharge, and so to come nearer the due enforcement of the sentences of the Court. He thus demonstrated conclusively that the Bill is not to take the place of forcible feeding, but to be an additional means of torture.

The Right of Free Speech

As we anticipated last week, the revolutionary party of Suffragists have not consented to the abandonment of their meetings in Hyde Park and other public spaces in London, at the dictation of the Government. In Hyde Park, on Sunday last, a meeting was held which was quite orderly until it was interrupted and broken up by the police. At Wimbledon Common the weekly meeting was held without molestation from the police or the crowd. Protests against the attempts to suppress free speech are being made by Trade Unions all over the country, and a great meeting has been called to take place in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon, May 4, at 4 p.m. Several prominent men and women are announced to speak.

What Happened in Hyde Park

In order that our readers might be under no delusion as to what actually took place in Hyde Park, we posted several representatives of this paper at different points, and the result of their testimony will be found on page 424. From this it will be seen that the reports which appeared in most of the public Press give an entirely false version of the facts which took place. It was perfectly clear that the great majority of persons present wanted to give the speakers a quiet hearing, and that they would have done so, even in spite of the organised rowdyism of small sections, had it not been for the intervention of the police.

The Pickpockets' Day Out

But a further startling fact which we had not expected emerges from our observation. It is that a number of the "rushes" and "women hunts" were deliberately organised by pickpockets, who saw in them a means of carrying on their trade. Our representative found that many of those around him had only just succeeded in preventing articles of value being stolen from them, and he was himself assaulted in this way. On reporting the matter to an inspector, the latter shrugged his shoulders and gave our representative to understand that he was not disposed to interfere.

Yielding to Force

The action of the Government in attempting to close these meetings on the alleged ground that they are the cause of disorder is therefore shown up in its true light. Either the Government are yielding to force—the force of the pickpocket and the hooligan—while they are refusing to yield to the force of public opinion which lies behind the woman's movement; or they are making use of these "respectable members of society" to achieve their ends. The spectacle of the Government calling to their aid such allies is not an edifying one for the people of this country.

Petitions to the House of Commons

A striking petition, which we give in full on the opposite page, was presented on Tuesday last in the House of Commons by Lord Robert Cecil. The object of the petitioners was to obtain permission to appear at the Bar of the House to plead the case of Woman Suffrage. It was signed by the presidents of all the Suffrage Societies except the W.S.P.U. A second petition to the same effect, signed by the presidents of all the women's Labour organisations, is also in preparation, and will, we understand, shortly be presented. It is hoped that after both petitions have been presented a discussion on the merits of the proposal will be raised by friendly members of the House of Commons.

Miss Margaret Ashton writes to M.P.'s

A powerful letter has been addressed by Councillor Margaret Ashton to the members of the House of Commons. After pointing out some of the existing evils which women see are "remediable and yet unremedied," Miss Ashton says:—

> Do you wonder at the unrest? Do you not rather wonder at the age-long patience of women, which has at last worn thin? As a law-abiding woman, as a worker in local government and social reform I ask you —What are you going to do about it? . . . . We are half the nation, and are actively dissatisfied with the legislation forced upon us. Coercion has always failed. Force is no remedy. We ask for the remedy that has never failed to remove active discontent—the power to share in instructing Parliament on our own behalf; the vote to elect members to represent us as well as men in the House of Commons; the vote which is recognised as the foundation of liberty.

We reprint the letter in full on the opposite page, together with a strong letter in support by Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, the veteran suffragist.

The Monument Captured for Woman Suffrage

A very clever piece of militancy, which secured a tribute of admiration from friend and foe, was carried out on Thursday in last week by two Suffragists, who, in the graphic words of the evening papers, "captured the Monument," and held it for about an hour against all efforts to dislodge them. Meanwhile they displayed the purple, white and green flag and showered down Suffrage leaflets upon the crowd below. The result was that a valuable advertisement was obtained, no one was hurt, and one more success was added to the lists of triumphs of feminine ingenuity. In the end no attempt was made to charge the perpetrators with any offence, owing, no doubt, to the popular sympathy which they had obtained. One of the women is a member of the Votes for Women Fellowship.

Tax Resistance

During the week several women have demonstrated by tax resistance their refusal to consent to a Government in which they have no share. On Monday distraint was levied upon the Duchess of Bedford, and a silver cup belonging to her was sold to pay for the taxes on Prince's Skating Rink, of which she is proprietor. On Tuesday afternoon an auction sale was held of goods belonging to Miss Beatrice Harraden, who in a spirited address pointed out to the crowd who gathered round the reason for her refusal to pay. Other sales have been held in different parts of the country.

Before the Magistrate for Incitement

Mr. George Lansbury's case was not dealt with at Bow Street on Friday last, as he decided to ask for an adjournment to prepare his defence. The afternoon of to-morrow (Saturday) was accordingly fixed by the magistrate. The cases of Miss Annie Kenney and Mrs. Drummond have been also adjourned to the same date. It is anticipated that Counsel will argue on their behalf the inapplicability of the statute under which they have been summoned, and an interesting legal discussion is therefore likely to result. We give on another page a short interview with Mr. Lansbury, from which our readers will be able to understand the quality of the man who is fighting on behalf of women for the franchise.

Items of Interest

No further step has yet been taken by the Government in the bankruptcy proceedings against Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

A special cablegram to Votes for Women informs us that in Pennsylvania the equal Suffrage amendment has now passed both houses of the Legislature, and only awaits confirmation by a Referendum. This cannot take place till 1915.

The *Weekly Scotsman*, referring to the provisions of the Cat and Mouse Bill, says: "Public opinion, of which Mr. McKenna stands in such awe, will hardly endure to stand by and look on while this new form of martyrdom is proceeding; it will infinitely prefer forcible feeding."

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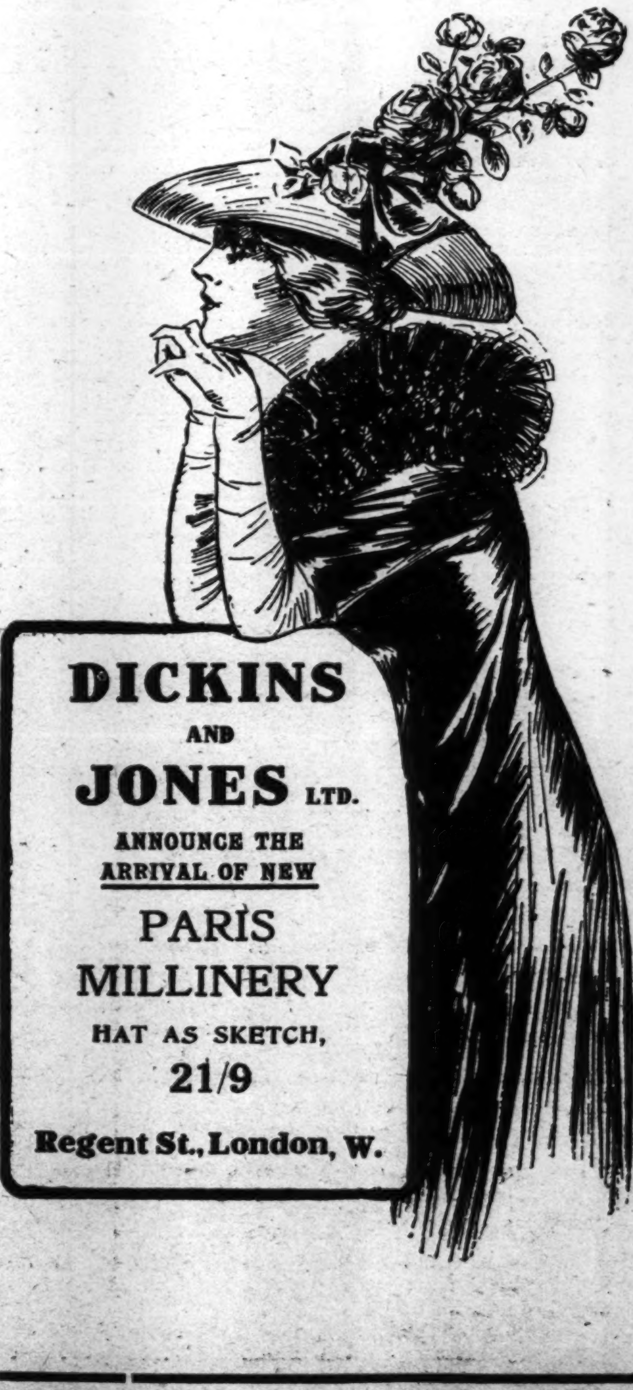

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL CAMPAIGN

Women's Demand to Plead at the Bar of the House—Strong Letter to M.P.'s—Women Liberals

TWO NOTABLE PETITIONS

Suffragists Ask to be Heard at the Bar of the House

In the House of Commons, last Tuesday, Lord Robert Cecil presented a petition which was representative of twenty-seven societies having Woman Suffrage as one of their objects. The petitioners, having been informed by the Speaker that permission to plead their cause at the Bar of the House of Commons was in the power of the House to grant, set forth the following reasons in support of their petition:

1. Because women, being bound to obey the laws and pay the taxes in like manner as men, ought to have a direct voice in the election of those who make the laws and impose the taxes.

2. Because women have always shown themselves capable of discharging competently any public duty entrusted to them.

3. Because women already take a large part in the political life of the country, often at the request of honourable members of your House, but are debarred from any constitutional and responsible exercise of political power.

4. Because women's point of view in regard to many subjects is different from that of men, and therefore no legislature can satisfactorily enact laws for both sexes unless it represents both.

5. Because in all matters of Social Reform, and particularly in questions relating to the education of children or to domestic economy, the point of view of the Woman deserves at least as much consideration as that of the Man.

6. Because the inequity of the present state of affairs is causing growing discontent among the women of this country, who as a sex have shown themselves far more patient and law-abiding than their male fellow-citizens.

For these and other reasons we therefore ask that we may be heard at the Bar by such number of representatives as your honourable House shall be pleased to direct, and your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed)

Millicent Garrett Fawcett,
President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Maud Selborne,
President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Frances Balfour,
President of the London Society for Women's Suffrage.

Charlotte E. Despard,
President Women's Freedom League.

Gertrude Forbes-Robertson,
President of the Actresses' Franchise League.

Adeline Chapman,
President of the New Constitutional Society for Women Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, S.W.

Mary Adelaide Broadhurst,
President National Political League, 16, St. James' Street, S.W.

Blanche Smyth-Pigott,
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Ethel Seymour Bennett,
Hon. Treasurer Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Jane E. Strickland,
Chairman Ex. Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, Halsteads, Hastings.

Jennie Cohen,
Hon. Treasurer Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 2, Orme Court, W.

Sybil Smith,
President West Essex Women's Franchise Society, Rolls Park, Chigwell, Essex.

M. de la Warr,
President Federated Council of Suffrage Societies, 16, St. James' Street, S.W.

M. Scott Moncrieff,
Hon. Sec. Society of Younger Suffragists, 11, Cheyne Walk, S.W.

Lilian M. Hicks,
Hon. Treasurer Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Louie Bennett,
Hon. Sec. Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Anna M. Haslam,
Hon. Secretary Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Margaret E. Cousins,
Hon. Secretary Irish Women's Franchise League, Antient Concert Buildings, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin.

Margaret M. Robinson,
Hon. Secretary Irish Women's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Patricia Hoby,
President Irish League for Women's Suffrage, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Harriet Chick,
Hon. Secretary London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, Chestergate, Ealing.

Edith R. Mansell-Moullin,
Hon. Organiser Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, 69, Wimpole Street, W.

Bessie M. Rendle,
Hon. Sec. Civil Service Woman Suffrage Society, 2, Clifton Road, Finchley, N.

Flora Annie Steel,
President Women Writers' Suffrage League, 12, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

Fannie M. Thomas,
President of the National Federation of Women Teachers, Pontycymmer, South Wales.

E. D. Harrison,
Founder and Hon. Sec. Hastings and St. Leonards Propaganda League, 1, St. Paul's Place, St. Leonards.

Mary Hankinson,
President Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 67, Shaftesbury Road, Crouch Hill, N.

E. Morgan Dockrell,
President L.C.C. Women Teachers' Union, Harcourt House, Cavendish Square, W.

The Clerk of the House then read the petition, and it is expected that Sir Robert Cecil will shortly ask a question dealing with the request of the petitioners.

THE SECOND PETITION

From 34,500 Working Women

A second petition will be shortly presented by Mr. Keir Hardie on behalf of organisations representing 34,500 working women. The reasons of the petitioners for asking to be heard at the Bar of the House are as follows:—

1. Because women as wage earners occupy a weaker position in the industrial world than men, and therefore specially require the protection of the vote in dealing with industrial legislation affecting women workers.

SPECIAL CABLE TO "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

"Pennsylvania victorious."—

Alice Stone Blackwell.

The above cable records the latest Suffrage victory in America, where the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution has just passed through the Senate of the Pennsylvania State Legislature. As it has already passed the lower House, it has now only to be confirmed by a Referendum of the electors in 1915 to become law.

2. Because the majority of married working women who are not wage earners are deeply concerned as wage spenders in all industrial legislation, and in such social questions as taxation, education, housing, and land reform.

3. Because the lives of women are greatly affected by questions of national service and foreign policy, and they should therefore have a voice therein as citizens.

4. Because so long as women are excluded from the counsels of the nation their capacity for public service is lost to the State.

5. Because justice demands political freedom for men and women alike, and the refusal of it to working women hinders them in the struggle they are daily waging to raise the burdens of poverty from their homes and gain a happier future for their children.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed)

Margaret Llewelyn Davies,
Hon. General Secretary, Women's Co-operative Guild.

Marion Phillips,
General Secretary, Women's Labour League.

Charlotte M. Wilson,
Hon. Secretary, Fabian Women's Group.

Elizabeth Gilroy,
Secretary, National Association of Midwives.

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A WOMAN COUNCILLOR'S LETTER TO M.P.'s

"Governed Against Their Consent"

Councillor Margaret Ashton, of Manchester, whose long experience in local government and in women's reform movements gives great weight to her argument, has addressed the following demand for "the only remedy that has never failed to remove active discontent," in a letter to members of the House of Commons:—

Gentlemen,—Now that, following hard upon forcible feeding, you are beginning to pass fresh coercive legislation for militant Suffragists, is it not time also to consider in your honourable House the reason of the persistent unrest of women, and to try to remedy the causes at the root of the whole disorder?

Women have real and special grievances which the voters—having many of their own—have not sufficiently pressed upon Parliament, and members have not therefore attended to them. You can imprison and injure the hundreds of militant women whose conduct you denounce, but there are millions of others whose needs you continue to ignore. Your recent legislation itself shows the neglected state of Englishwomen.

Women and Recent Legislation

The National Health Insurance Act, for which women are taxed equally with men, gives benefit to 9,000,000 of men, but only 3,000,000 of women. The tax so levied contributes to the maternity benefit, which means that, though men are given higher wages presumably for the support of their families, they are helped in this very purpose by the women. Illegitimate maternity is now paid out of the women's fund, instead of, as heretofore, more properly out of the poor rate, to which men also contribute. Insurance benefit is concentrated on the man of the family, but at his death the whole family is left the poorer from the weekly deduction from the family income, for which no return is made to the widow left defenceless. There is no sick benefit for the home-maker herself. All this though national health depends as much on healthy mothers at work in the home as on healthy fathers at work outside.

In the unemployment section of the same Act 2,000,000 of men are to receive benefit to which the taxes contribute, but no women. In the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905, which again was financed out of rates and taxes, it was notorious that hardly any benefit was received by women. Under the Labour Exchanges run by national money the largest trade of women—domestic service other than in licensed houses—is specifically cut out, and women of a poor class have to provide their own registry in addition to paying for the national exchanges.

The sweated trades are in overwhelming proportions women's trades, and we note the dilatoriness in dealing with the worst of them, the sewing trades.

A Callous Refusal

The police court and the Poor Law know all about the degradation of women through these quite remediable evil conditions, but you, gentlemen, do little to remove them, and callously refuse us the power to help ourselves. You hold up marriage and motherhood as the crown of woman's life, but you secure us little protection in the home, and the deserted wife and the stricken widow you leave to the hard mercy of the Poor Law, which allows the home to be broken up and the children to be separated from their mothers.

It would be easy to continue the list of reforms long needed which the subjection of women alone makes it possible to delay.

Educated women, knowing the causes of many of the worst evils surrounding the homes and health of the people, know also that they are remediable and yet unremedied. It is we who are most active in the demand for enfranchisement.

"What Are You Going to Do?"

Do you wonder at the unrest? Do you not rather wonder at the age-long patience of women, which has at last worn thin? As a law-abiding woman, as a worker in local government and social reform I ask you—What are you going to do about it?

We are equally taxed and rated with men, and, not receiving equal benefit, our claims receive scant consideration in Parliament, although national well-being depends on women as on men. We are unrepresented in Parliament, and therefore no member is responsible to us or for us. What is everyone's business is no one's business, and you, gentlemen, are imperfectly instructed in our conditions and necessities. Parliament can never represent the unrepresented, nor can the will of the people be expressed by only half of the people.

"Coercion Has Always Failed"

Women are being governed without their consent and largely now against their consent. We are half the nation, and are actively dissatisfied with the legislation forced upon us. Coercion has always failed. Force is no remedy. We ask for the remedy that has never failed to remove active discontent—the power to share in instructing Parliament on our own behalf; the vote to elect members to represent us as well as men in the House of Commons; the vote which is recognised as the foundation of liberty.—Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I am, &c.,

(Signed) Margaret Ashton.

April 17, 1913.

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MRS. ELMY'S SUPPORT

"The Monstrous Insult"

Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, a pioneer woman Suffragist who founded the first Manchester Woman Suffrage Committee in 1866, and was one of the earliest champions of militancy, wrote a strong letter to the *Manchester Guardian* last Tuesday, in which she says:—

"I fully share Miss Ashton's disgust at the monstrous insult offered to the womanhood of this nation by this disgraceful position still assigned to them, and gladly join in her demand for 'the vote, which is recognised as the foundation of liberty.' Do our sapient rulers desire, in their blindness, to drive all thinking and feeling women into open rebellion? It would almost seem so, and that they, in their folly, prefer injustice and wrong to that equal justice between the sexes which would soon prove itself the veritable tap-root of all other social and political justice."

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WOMEN LIBERALS

EALING WOMEN LIBERALS

No Help to Anti-Suffragists

At a meeting of the Ealing Women's Liberal Association, held last Saturday, the following resolution was carried by a large majority:—

"That this Women's Liberal Association will give no help to any Liberal candidate who is not a supporter of Woman Suffrage; and further, that instructions be sent to the executive of the Women's Liberal Federation that the official organiser should only be sent to aid a candidate who is pledged to vote for any measure of Woman Suffrage."

BIRMINGHAM WOMEN LIBERALS

"Faith in the Prime Minister"

At the annual meeting of the Birmingham Women Liberals, last week, a resolution was carried to the effect that the executive had considered the statement made by the Prime Minister undertaking to provide all necessary time for the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill through all its stages in the next three sessions, so that it might come under the operation of the Parliament Act, and to ensure perfect freedom to vote solely on the merits of the Bill, and that Liberal women were resolved to make use of the Parliamentary opportunities open to them and would concentrate their energies on obtaining an early victory in the House of Commons.

The annual report stated that with regard to Woman Suffrage the year's record had been "a very disappointing one." However, they as Liberal women held to their faith in the Prime Minister, and hoped it might yet be found possible to pass a Women's Suffrage Bill through the House of Commons. The efforts of suffragists, both inside and outside the House, were greatly hampered by the policy of the militants—a policy which was as futile as it was dangerous to the cause it professed to uphold.

The report went on to say that Liberalism had been making headway in Birmingham, and no little part had been taken by the Women's Association in bringing that about. Did the members of the Association see no connection, we wonder, between their unremitting work for the Party and its indifference to their demand for the vote, and the relationship of both to the impatience of militant women?

THE SUFFRAGE BILL

Questions in the House

April 17, 1913

Mr. Dickinson asked upon which day the Government will provide facilities for the Second Reading of the Representation of the People (Women) Bill?

Mr. Lloyd George: We propose Monday, 5th May, and Tuesday, 6th May.

Mr. King: Will these days be immediately before the Recess? Would it not be for the general convenience of Members if these days were taken immediately before the holidays, so that hon. Members might have an opportunity of prolonging their holidays if they liked? Will that suggestion be considered?

Mr. Lloyd George: The Government always give the most careful consideration to every suggestion put forward by my hon. Friend.

THE WHIPS

The names of the Whips who will act in support of Mr. Dickinson's Bill are Lord Henry Bentinck (Unionist), Mr. Chancellor and Mr. H. D. McLaren (Liberals), and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Labour).

THE PICKPOCKETS' DAY OUT

The Battle of Free Speech—The Public on the Side of the Women—Pickpockets Help the Police

Last Sunday the militant Suffragists, supported by a friendly public, fought the battle of Free Speech o'er again in Hyde Park. The struggle went on for more than two hours, from three o'clock till nearly six; and various accounts of what happened appeared in Monday's papers. These were in most cases, if not downright inaccurate, at least misleading; and the result has been to foster a perfectly mistaken notion in the minds of those who were not present that the public were hostile to the attempts that were made to hold the meetings which have been forbidden by the Government. This was not so. Any hostility shown by the respectable mass of the crowd was directed towards the Government for their prohibition of free speech, and towards the police for trampling over the people's park. No doubt some of the misrepresentation in the Press, and certainly the conflicting nature of the reports, arose from the difficulty of grasping the various incidents in the fight that were proceeding in different parts of the battlefield, often simultaneously. This difficulty we have, fortunately, been able to overcome by making use of the reports of eye-witnesses only, who were scattered about the scene of action; and in this way we are enabled to give an accurate account of what happened.

What Really Happened

At three o'clock Hyde Park was thronged with people of all classes, some strolling about, some lying on the grass, some forming little crowds round the orators on the gravel near the Marble Arch. Except for the constables in couples who guarded each entrance to the Park, and were somewhat in evidence round about the green where the lorry of the W.S.P.U. has stood on former Sundays, there was nothing much to show that the Suffragettes were expected. On that same plot of green, it is true, there was a largish group of the rowdy young hooligans who have caused the disorder at these Sunday meetings, and they seemed to be waiting for their prey to turn up as usual.

At twelve minutes past three, on the next green, south of the usual one, a woman suddenly appeared as if by magic, standing on a small platform. She began to speak. Simultaneously, another woman appeared beside her, and pulling out a flag from under her cloak, flourished above her head the rebel purple, white and green tricolour. Men lying on the grass sprang to their feet and clustered round her, crowds came running also towards her from every direction till a solid wedge of people surrounded the two small figures who were vindicating the right of Free Speech.

Police and Hooligans Outwitted

The police and the hooligans were alike outwitted. They, too, came hastening towards the danger zone, but they had to cover the ground between the two greens, and by the time they arrived they found that the crowd which separated them from the two law-breakers was made up, not of the scum of the populace, but of the respectable British public—and it was a crowd that admired the women and condemned the action of the police.

"Well, now, I call that really smart!"

"They're plucky; I'll say that for them!"

"And they're quite right; I'm for free speech myself!" And so on, and so on.

The mounted police, four or five of them, had now reached the outskirts of the throng (estimated in the *Times* at about 20,000 strong), and halted uncertainly. They consulted one another, then began slowly to edge their way through the people. The people resented it, and the police knew it. "Call this a people's park? We might be in Russia!" was the sort of observation one heard on every side. The mounted men went on, forced a pathway right up to the small platform, and succeeded in dislodging the woman who was speaking, and her platform was confiscated. Their unpopularity was so great at this point that Superintendent Wells led his men back again to the edge of the crowd, saying somewhat pettishly he would not stay there to hear them insulted. The bystanders watching that ignoble retreat just refrained from booing, but a ripple of laughter rang out as they went.

The Woman's Victory

The account we print below deals with the particulars of that first ten minutes' meeting. The colour-bearer was conducted out of the Park, her flag confiscated, and was prevented from returning. The speaker was not further molested at the moment, and the crowd, whom the action of the police had disturbed and irritated, without dispersing, waited to see what she would do next. As soon as another platform could be produced, she spoke again. This time she was stopped sooner than before, was taken from the Park, and detained for some time by the police. Later, she was allowed to go home, where she changed her hat, then, returning to the Park at a quarter to six, she calmly held her adjourned meeting and addressed an interested audience for nearly an hour, while the police stood by and looked on! It would be impossible to say after this that the women did not come off victorious.

The Disorder

But it is of the period in between that we wish particularly to speak. Apparently, the representatives of the Press missed the triumphant appearance of the women and the flag, and did not stay to see her return and ultimate victory. They appear to have arrived at the moment when the great mass of the people were becoming disintegrated owing to the harassing tactics of the police, who, returning to the charge, went up and down, dividing groups, separating parents from children, destroying peace, and sowing discord. Now and then a woman started up on some improvised platform and held her audience until the police dislodged her and got her away. But, naturally, the crowd as a whole was no longer solid; and that was how the scum once more got its unholy chance.

Those who had been there from the beginning had seen how the hooligan element was routed. Those who arrived only when the police began to harass the crowd saw the hooligan element re-assert itself, and went away with the impression that the gangs of pickpockets and rowdies, who now became the allies of the police, represented public opinion towards the Suffragettes.

One of our representatives had secured a point of vantage from which he was able to see exactly how the thing was worked. A man would lead a rush by tying a newspaper to his stick and using it as a flag. "There's one of them!" he would cry, waving this over his head and plunging through a crowd of well-dressed people. Behind him would follow a gang of ill-conditioned youths. People scattered to right and left of them, and the gang was sometimes baulked of its prey, and sometimes found some woman or girl to bully and mob until she was rescued from their clutches. *But in no case was there any concerted effort on the part of the police to stop these rushes; and in many cases there was no woman at all in the group of people into which the leader led his gang of bullies.*

The Explanation of "the Rushes"

Our representative, having learnt these two facts from observation, was at first puzzled. Then his own group, in which there was no woman, became the object of attack. "There she is, boys!" shouted a ringleader, and in another moment the group was surrounded by a howling, jostling mob. Our representative found his arms pinioned, while a hand was laid on his watch, and another on his money. He wrenched himself free, and escaped being robbed; but the little incident gave him the clue he sought. The Park had been given over into the hands of pickpockets, and the police stood by and let it happen, because it was a convenient way of getting the women mobbed and of circulating reports as to the unpopularity of the militant Suffragists. His suspicion was rapidly confirmed by the complaints he heard from various people round him of having been robbed.

What the Police could have done

There is no doubt that only on the part of individual constables was any attempt made to protect respectable citizens in the Park last Sunday, and that any decided action on the part of the police would at once have put a stop to the rowdiness of the pickpocket and his gang of idlers. The *Daily Telegraph* recognises this in the following passage, taken from its account of last Sunday's proceedings:—

"An incident that was enacted showed how possible it is for one accustomed to exercise authority to control an irate gathering. An elderly lady wished to express her views, but on seeing how unwelcome they were, she desisted and attempted to thread her way through the mass. . . . Some youths around were about to hustle her, when a man in the uniform of a petty officer shouldered through them and ordered them to behave. It was clear that he meant to be obeyed. Seeing this, they did what he told them. He then escorted the woman to the outside of the park, amid the cheers of many of the onlookers.

"A striking feature of the crowd," continues the report, "was the number of well-dressed people who were present—in fact, it was noticeable that they out-numbered the rowdy element."

Certainly: and for that reason it would have been perfectly easy to quell the rowdy element before it got the upper hand and turned Hyde Park into a bear garden.

THE GAG THAT FAILED

An Account by an Eye-witness

Such a scene as last Sunday's was too vast for one man to describe. All the north-east quarter of the park was crowded with thousands of people. For three hours the speaking was almost continuous, the propaganda ceaseless. The Government cried peace, and there was no peace; they cried silence, and behold, a cry! Since first they entered the path of injustice, that has always been the Government's fate. And so it will remain until they turn away from the wickedness they have committed, and save some little fragment of their souls alive.

In such a scene I can speak only of what I saw myself. It was the first warm April day, and, like thousands of others, I happened to be walking in the Park, enjoying the spring. A stranger, observing large bodies of police posted at tactical points, and held in reserve, with horses ready, inside the Marble Arch, might have supposed they were there to protect the flowers. But a Liberal Government had ordered them to silence men and women speaking on the advantages of representation in Parliament. I remember the time when Liberals spoke of these advantages themselves. They were a commonplace of Liberalism, a principle, almost a platitude. But that was years ago, before a Liberal Government, advancing from one step of coercion and brutality to another, developed into a detested tyranny. Now they shiver to think of representation, and the word "vote" makes them jump like an explosion. Let silence reign.

The Unexpected Happens

But silence could not reign. Silence was pushed from its throne, and not all Mr. McKenna's horses nor all his men could set it up again. Strolling not far from me across the grass came a man bearing a wooden contrivance like a small table. Expanding its legs, he sat upon it and surveyed the scene. Perceiving two women approach from opposite directions, he chivalrously rose. To his amazement, both sprang on his little platform, and one began to speak, while the other waved a pretty purple, white, and green flag. Like several other men who were standing about, I drew near the tiny group, and we seemed all to be old-fashioned Liberals. For, hearing familiar phrases about Free Speech, Self-government, and Representation, we began to applaud. We thought a Liberal meeting of bygone days had come again. Soon we formed a solid ring, composed of all classes, but chiefly of dockers and other working-men from the East End. And we were quite enjoying ourselves, for, being Liberals, we sympathised with what the woman was saying, and the flag was somehow familiar too.

Suddenly two or three mounted police forced their way through our peaceful ring, commanded the woman to stop speaking and the meeting to break up. Sheltered behind them came a fat, middle-aged man, known to many by sight as an ardent supporter of the Government in its policy towards women. Expecting the usual applause of a cowardly mob, he rushed upon the women and began belabouring them with his fists and an umbrella or stick, when (oh, what a surprise!) the working-men set upon him; a fine blow under the jaw brought his heavy carcase to the ground, and after being rolled about for a bit on the grass, he crawled away without his hat, and was no more seen. Hell and the Government help him if the dockers catch him beating women again!

"Free Speech!"

Meantime, the police had come up in swarms, and were marching off one of our circle towards the Serpentine. We accompanied them, shouting "Free Speech, Free Speech!" as we went. Superintendent Wells, recognising me from former amicable conversations, rode up and warned me of arrest. As I am old enough to remember the example set by Mr. John Burns some twenty-five years ago, and the defence Mr. Asquith made for him, I knew I could not be wrong in continuing to shout "Free Speech!" And I suppose Superintendent Wells knew it too. Poor man! He once told me he was appointed to the command in this quarter of London as being an easy post, suitable for the calm dignity of advancing years. Let us not refuse the meed of a pitying tear, due to life's little ironies.

Nothing was to be gained by following further. We faced about, most of the police facing about with us, and following behind. The place where we had attended our peaceful meeting was now covered with an immense crowd. A few were hustling any woman whom they took to be a supporter of popular representation, but most of them were gathered in large groups to listen to discussion of the subject, or moved about with difficulty, waiting for something to happen. Passing from group to group, I found the general feeling was strongly hostile to the Government, coercion, and the gag. Even extreme reactionaries and other supporters of Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna hesitated over the suppression of free speech. Never have I so much longed to be an orater. An orator could have won the whole multitude to the cause of freedom.

A Big Meeting

But, orator or not, one could not lose such an opportunity. Someone caused another little platform to arise in a fairly open space just outside the main crowd. Standing on it, I began to speak, and in a few seconds the dockers, the Liberals, and other friends of progress swarmed round me, shouting applause at the baldest axioms of liberty. The police came and removed me from the platform, but I continued to repeat my series of Liberal principles. Soon the crowd extended far beyond the limits of a voice, but hearing the cheers around me, they cheered too. Excellent speakers quickly followed—Mr. Futvoye, Mr. Scurr, of the Dockers' Union (a real orator), Miss Nina Boyle, of the Women's Freedom League, eloquently maintaining the cause of women. Rapidly inventing a resolution condemning the Government for prohibiting free speech and breaking their pledges on Woman Suffrage, I put it to the meeting, and it was carried with enthusiasm, only six voting against it. After cheers for George Lansbury and all the leaders of our cause, the meeting quietly broke up.

Meanwhile, numbers of the savages and the Government's supporters had been hanging about the Park gates, where, as well as elsewhere, they set upon isolated women. In every contest for freedom I have found them always the same, and Government papers have always claimed their obscene and cowardly violence as the expression of public opinion. That claim is an insult to the British people, but I know too much of the inside of newspaper offices to hope that it will be abandoned.

H. W. N.

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FREE SPEECH AT WIMBLEDON

An opportunity for woman-baiting was also expected to offer itself in the ordinary Sunday afternoon meeting on Wimbledon Common; but those who went there with that object were cowed into subjection by the spectacle of a large and interested crowd listening to Mrs. Lamartine Yates, who spoke strongly against the attempt of the Government to stop free speech, while a cordon of police stood formed round her in case of disturbance.

The explanation of this, according to the *Daily Chronicle*, is that the speaker was "not a member of the famous Women's Social and Political Union, whose meetings in the parks were prohibited, but of the Wimbledon W.S.P.U., a different organisation."

What Went Ye Out for to See?

The following interesting account has been sent to us by one who was present:—

Thousands of people collected on Wimbledon Common shortly before three o'clock, attracted no doubt by the rumoured prohibition of the Suffrage meeting. They would have been bitterly disappointed had no Suffragettes appeared. They showed clearly their reliance on the spirit of the women in not flinching from their duty. What a testimony to the Suffragettes' fearless dedication of self to the Cause!

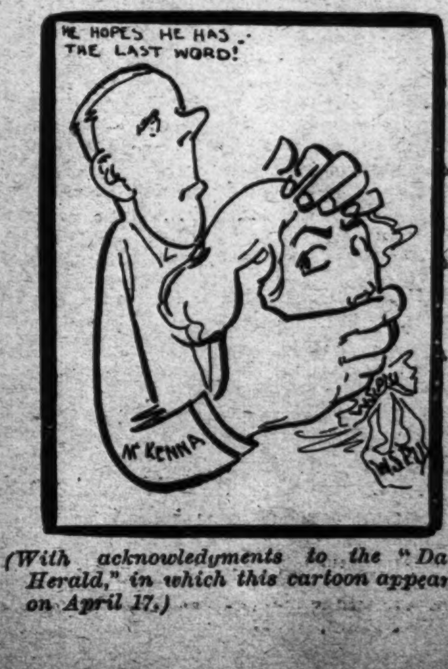
Amid silence Mrs. Lamartine Yates addressed a crowd which shortly numbered between 8,000 and 10,000, and growing steadily denser and larger till its estimate varied from 30,000 to 40,000.

Full twenty minutes, with scarce an interruption, the huge audience listened, and then the speaker thanked them for their courteous hearing, and called on all who valued so proud a British asset as free speech to stand by them fearlessly in their present fight.

No pushing, no booing, a faint—very faint—"Sit down!" for the rest, the audience stood reverently.

One trifling disorder only. The secretary of the Anti-Suffragists, and an ex-Borough Councillor, passionately demanded of the police inspector to prohibit the meeting, and not satisfied with his refusal, they broke through the police cordon and repeated their demand to the superintendent in charge.

But what went ye out for to see? Tyranny over the oppressed? Or a lonely woman standing for the rights of men?


HE HOPES HE HAS THE LAST WORD!
McKENNA
W.S.P.U.

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald," in which this cartoon appeared on April 17.)

THE CAPTURE OF THE MONUMENT

"Two on a Tower"—Suffragette Flag Flies Over the City—London's Laughter

Last Friday an admirably successful adventure was carried out by two Women Suffragists, Mrs. Gertrude E. Shaw (a member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship) and Miss Ethel Spark, who succeeded together in capturing the Monument, near London Bridge, and holding it against all comers for the best part of an hour, during which they hauled down the City flag, substituted for it the purple, white, and green *oriflamme* of the militants, hung out a black cloth banner inscribed in white letters with the words, "Death or Victory," and threw down leaflets, called "A Mother's Appeal," thus adding a serious note to the demonstration and instructing the immense crowd gathered below on the evils of sweating, white slave traffic, &c., which lie behind the women's demand for enfranchisement. The City rocked with laughter; the West End rang with the news, and the traffic in one of the busiest spots of the largest city in the world was practically held up while all the physical force that could be mustered by the police expended itself in vain against the gate which had been barricaded by two unarmed women. It was "militancy for non-militants" and no mistake!

The *Standard* spread itself out in vain in a pompous leading article entitled, "Monumental Folly," calling for "pathological treatment" of the "diseased mentality" shown by the gallant perpetrators of the achievement. As the *Evening News* put it, "One cannot laugh and be seriously angry at the same time"; while the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes that the two women "managed every detail of their plot with foresight, adroitness and courage," and adds that "If the object of the suffragettes was to make people talk about them and to prove cleverness and ingenuity and daring, to-day's raid was the most successful they have made for a long time."

London was pleased, and London laughed; that was the truth of it. And those who pulled a long face over the "hostility" of the waiting crowd when the women, their fortress taken at last, were conducted to the nearest railway station by the police, are on a level with the imaginative reporter of one of the morning papers, who seems to have seen the holders of the fort dropping "some pieces of the iron to the ground, some 200ft below." Terror of the Suffragettes may have a blinding effect, but we should have thought it difficult, even under the influence of fear, to see in a falling leaflet a lump of iron!

The *Evening News* came out with the apt poster:—

> "To the Monument!
> —There lock yourself."
> *Antony and Cleopatra, iv., ii.*

The two women who carried through this clever feat contributed an interesting account of it to last Sunday's *Referee*. "Our great object," they write, "was to bring off a coup which would attract attention, but which would not involve danger to property or human life. Suffragettes have always been reproached with a lack of a sense of humour. We thought we might do something monumental to remove that impression. Having decided this, we carefully rehearsed our plans. One of us went on several occasions to the Monument to study the lay of the land, the disposition and habits of the keeper, his weak points and his strong points, and the point at which he was most open to attack. We carefully rehearsed the whole affair with a model of the Monument and plans of the room drawn to scale. . . . The way in which we conveyed our armoury to the scene of battle has been guessed at variously by the Press, but so far unsuccessfully. What really happened was this. Two iron bars specially prepared were worn round our necks as ordinary women would wear a string of pearls. The two bars then hung down under our long cloaks. With regard to the literature, we used that to improve our figures, and our extra skirts were formed with the flags and with the device of 'Death or Victory!' with which we afterwards adorned the Monument."

Having reached the top of the Monument without misadventure, the two conspirators lingered until some other sightseers had gone downstairs. An accomplice then lured the guardian down two or three steps from the top. Instantly the door was banged to, the iron bars were placed in position, and the fort was barricaded from the inside.

"The keeper instantly realised the situation," continues the account, "and from the other side of the door parleyed with us ineffectually. Telephone bells rang. Cries and shouts were heard in various directions, and presently the politest posse of police we have yet encountered arrived. We were urged to be good girls and come out now we had accomplished all we had intended to do. We preferred to carry on the conversation at a respectful distance, as through broken glass the arm of authority had already intruded. We explained that it was our intention to hold the fort as long as we possibly could. Eventually, with the aid of a sledge hammer—we had anticipated nothing less than a battering ram—they broke the door open. The police informed the keeper, who inquired if he was to charge us, that what damage had been done had been done by them, therefore if he wanted to charge anybody he must charge the police."

In reply to the sensational accounts in the Press, the two women proceed to say in conclusion:—

"We have been reading in the papers that we emerged 'pale and dishevelled,' and that the police had great work to protect us from the infuriated mob. The mob was undoubtedly rough, but not in an unkindly way, and, far from being 'pale and dishevelled,' as described by picturesque penmen, we were elated with the success of our little plot. So far from being really hostile, the only remarks our friends who were standing in the crowd heard were distinctly complimentary to our pluck and our determination in carrying out our campaign. To-day we have the happiness of knowing that we have accomplished our object without causing pain or distress to anyone, and without destroying one particle of property, and so far from having been nuisances, we have, on this occasion, contributed, if not to the gaiety of nations, at least to that of London. . . . .

"Our next announcement of 'Death or Victory!' will be made at the——but perhaps it will be more politic for us to adopt the attitude of the Prime Minister, and tell you to 'Wait and see.'"

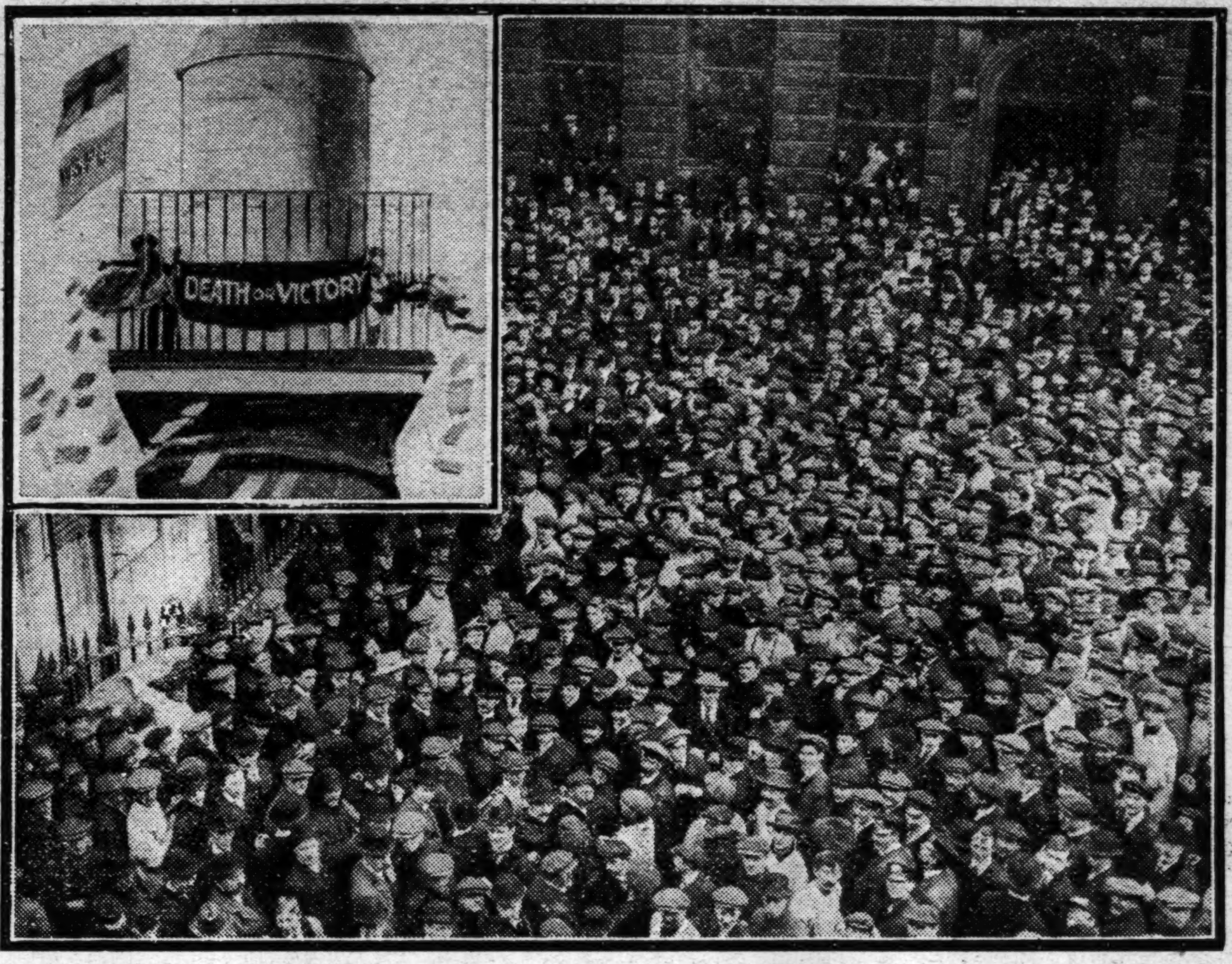


Photo: Central News.

A MERRY COMMENT

It was an ingenious stratagem, but effective only by being challenged. What could have been simpler or more effective than for authority to acquiesce in a situation so entirely favourable? If two of the intractable disturbers of the peace insist on banishing themselves to the top of the Monument, why object? What better beginning to the policy of deportation could be suggested? Clearly, the line to take was not to interfere with the plan, but rather to encourage others to join in its fulfilment. The more the merrier. And yet authority deliberately abandons or ignores the advantage given to its hand by the adversary, and insists on playing the adversary's game. Men were sent to break down doors and release the voluntary prisoners. No wonder women demand a hand in the management of affairs.—**Sunday Times.**

ANOTHER

Patience on a Monument and waiting for the Vote.—**Referee.**

TAX RESISTANCE

Tax resistance among Suffragists is becoming a more and more frequent form of protest, hardly a day passes without a case being reported in some part of the country. On one day in this week eight members of the Women's Tax Resistance League had their goods sold in various parts of England.

THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

On April 21 distraint was levied upon the Duchess of Bedford for refusal to pay Imperial taxes due in respect of Prince's Skating Rink; a silver cup was taken to satisfy the claim. The Duchess, who is a member of the Women's Tax Resistance League, states that as a married woman she is not liable to taxation, and therefore neither assessment nor demand note should have been served upon her, but upon the Duke of Bedford. She allowed the authorities, however, to proceed in this irregular manner, as she wished to take the opportunity of protesting against the treatment of the Woman Suffrage question by the present Government.

MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN

Goods were sold on Tuesday, April 22, at Gill's Auction Rooms, Kilburn, belonging to Miss Beatrice Harraden, Dr. Mabel Hardie, and Miss Gibbs, under a distraint for income tax. The sale was very quickly over; all the goods were bought by friends. Miss Harraden herself explained in the auction room the reasons for her refusal to pay. It had been arranged that a protest meeting should afterwards be held at the corner of Harrow Road and Elgin Avenue, but this was rendered impossible owing to the attitude of a crowd of youths and school children, who now seem to be the allies of the Law, and therefore were left free to throw refuse at the procession of women.

MRS. HENRY HOLIDAY

A case presenting some curious features was that of Mrs. Henry Holiday, wife of the artist, who had goods sold at Hawkshead, Ambleside. The district surveyor, after having endeavoured to obtain payment, applied to Mr. Holiday and threatened distraint, informing him that he was the person assessed. In reply Mr. Holiday said that before he could consider the question of payment he would require answers to two questions: 1. By whose authority the money had been accepted from his wife for five years if she was not liable to taxation? 2. By whose authority had this now been changed and a demand sent to him for taxes, the assessment of which was made on another person? Mr. Holiday received no reply, but heard that proceedings for a distraint had been commenced. He applied to Somerset House, where the authorities admitted that the local officers had been too hasty, in view of the fact that Mr. Holiday had not refused to pay. However, shortly afterwards the discovery was made by Somerset House that the District Commissioners, and not they, were the proper authorities to deal with the matter. The sale accordingly took place.

THE MEN'S LEAGUE AND WOMEN'S TAXES

At the annual meeting of the Men's League, to be held to-night (Friday) at Anderton's Hotel at 8 o'clock, Mr. S. D. Shallard is to move: "That this League declares itself in opposition to any Government which continues to levy taxes from, or impose laws upon women, as long as they are denied the rights of Parliamentary representation."

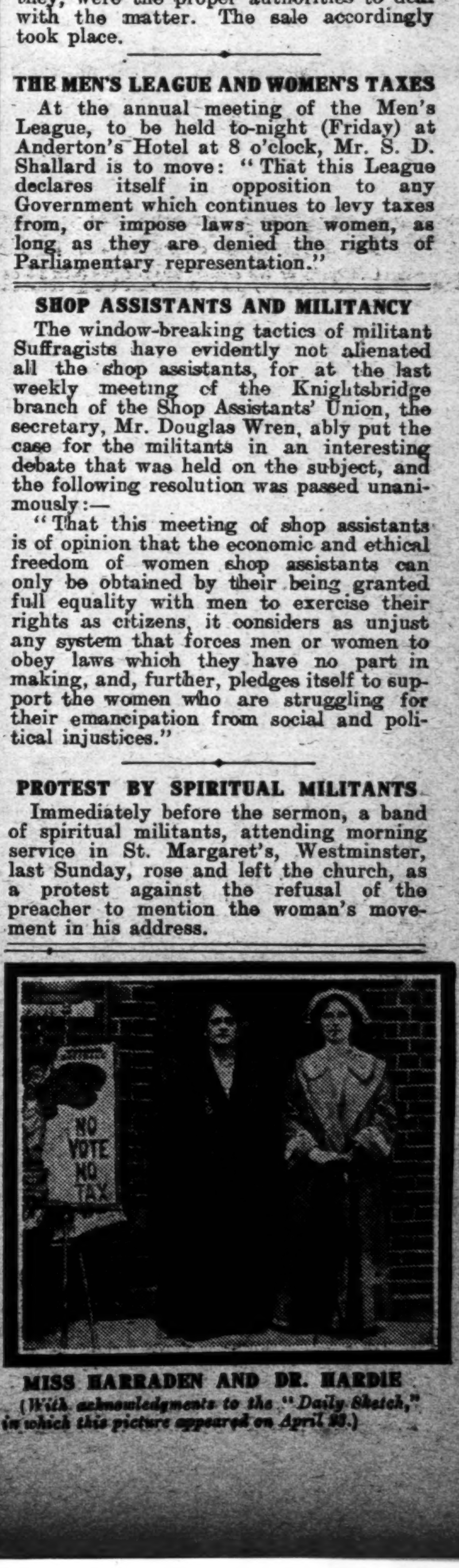
SHOP ASSISTANTS AND MILITANCY

The window-breaking tactics of militant Suffragists have evidently not alienated all the shop assistants, for at the last weekly meeting of the Knightsbridge branch of the Shop Assistants' Union, the secretary, Mr. Douglas Wren, ably put the case for the militants in an interesting debate that was held on the subject, and the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this meeting of shop assistants is of opinion that the economic and ethical freedom of women shop assistants can only be obtained by their being granted full equality with men to exercise their rights as citizens, it considers as unjust any system that forces men or women to obey laws which they have no part in making, and, further, pledges itself to support the women who are struggling for their emancipation from social and political injustices."

PROTEST BY SPIRITUAL MILITANTS

Immediately before the sermon, a band of spiritual militants, attending morning service in St. Margaret's, Westminster, last Sunday, rose and left the church, as a protest against the refusal of the preacher to mention the woman's movement in his address.



MISS HARRADEN AND DR. HARDIE
(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Sketch," in which this picture appeared on April 23.)

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NEW BOOKS

THE PRICE OF RUBBER.

For long the word Putumayo, a sign-post of horror, has headed columns in our daily Press. Some people turn aside from atrocities partly in scepticism towards our self-righteous journalism, partly from instinctive fastidiousness. But those who cared to do so have been able, bit by bit, to trace through the tangle of evidence the awful story of that hideous slavery carried on with the seeming tolerance of the Peruvian Government, and under the cover of a trading company British in name. Mr. G. Sydney Paternoster, in his book, "The Lords of the Devil's Paradise" (Stanley, Paul and Co., 5s. net), gives a brief account of the whole ghastly business up to date, and indicts by name those men he considers to be chiefly responsible for the cruelties practised in the rubber plantations of the Putumayo. He tells how the Peruvian Amazon Company forced the peaceful Indians of that district to work night and day, without payment, without food, without doctoring, without any recognition of their human rights; how its agents massacred and tortured unchecked, and how every Indian woman or girl was at the mercy of her employer's lust. "The number of Indians killed," Sir R. Casement reported, "either by starvation . . . or by deliberate murder by bullet, fire, beheading, or flogging to death, and accompanied by a variety of atrocious tortures . . . during twelve years in order to extract 4,000 tons of rubber cannot have been less than 30,000, and possibly came to many more."

The rubber from this district is cheap and bad, but evidently not so cheap as human life. The waste of life is amazing. We read of the Indians being shot down by sporting young men for mere amusement, of men being left to die of starvation and rot in the stocks, either from sheer delight in cruelty or because it was not worth while to feed them. And the punishment for a slight mistake was often death, generally of the most agonising kind. Women and men fared alike as regarded floggings and burning alive, but for the women there was in addition a brutal life of endless shame. Even little children were tortured. I use the past tense, because our information of what actually goes on at present is not complete. In 1909 the facts were first published in this country, and as everyone knows the British Limited Liability Company has lately dissolved itself, and the names of British directors no longer appear in connection with this shameful trade. But there is every reason to suppose that it still flourishes with all its abuses. The significant fact is that the output of rubber from this district has not materially decreased.

I hope it is not unfair in the midst of one's amazement at the records of the Congo, of San Thomé, of Mexico and Putomayo, to point out that these atrocities occur in a department of life that is peculiarly man-made. The hungry trader, grasping for his riches, scatters death wantonly around him. Not until women are allowed to bring into every department of life their sense of the sacredness of existence, and of the importance of individual suffering, will it be possible to sweep away this class of abuse Here, as everywhere, what we want is the gradual amalgamation of the point of view of the free woman and the free man.

OUR INDIAN SISTERS

Here is the story* of how for nearly a century English-speaking women have in silence and steadfastness carried the white-woman's burden in India. It is a wonderful record of work for the Empire, whether it tells of Mary Carpenter, Lady Amherst, or Miss Stone—whether it tells of the American Baptist missionaries or of the convent schools. Indeed, it is Miss Cowan's impartial and peaceful portrayal of the progress of education of women in India which charms us most. Her style seems rather dry at first, she is very thorough, and exact in her dates and details. But as you read of these isolated women who first went out to face the trials of strange language, strange customs, strange climate, and strange food, you find the subject is getting a grip on your heart, and the missionary spirit becomes understandable. Hearken to the following:—

> The desire is not so much to bring salvation to those whom a rigid theology long condemned as "heathen," as to give freely of the fulness received in clear consciousness of the solidarity of the human race. The world's best thought must be in terms of Christian philosophy; the Kingdom is conceived as present now in power; Christ is seen as the Fulfiller of all that is true and eternal in the ancient Faiths, and essentially the Saviour of the corporate life.

The book is well illustrated, and there is an interesting historical survey, which points out that in the Vedic times women apparently enjoyed an equal status with men, and that the present movement is merely a return to an earlier and better state of things. To young girls leaving college and in need of a vocation, we commend this book.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

"Adventures Beyond the Zambesi." By Mrs. Fred Maturin. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"Time's Wallet." By Lucy Dale and G. M. Faulding. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 6s.)

"With the Bulgarian Staff." By Noel Buxton. (London: Smith Elder. Price 3s. 6d.)

"The Governor." By Karin Michaelis. (London: John Lane. Price 5s. 6d. net.)

"Character Sketches from Dickens." Arranged by Grace Alvey. (London: S. French, Ltd. Price 1s. net.)

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* "Education of Women in India." By Minna G. Cowan, M.A. (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 3s. 6d. net.)

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NEW FICTION

IN SEARCH OF WESTERN FREEDOM

This book* is mainly composed of the letters of a Turkish lady who escaped with her sister from the restrictions imposed on women in her native land in order that she might find through contact with Western civilisation the freedom she craved. It is a study in disillusion: she did not find what she sought. Why she did not, arose from two main causes, each of them lying beyond her own range of vision. The one was that, in ways undiscernible by her, the women of Europe are still not free: the other was that, under the limitations of the training imposed on her in the past, her own mind was not free. Charming and cultured though she was, and, considering her previous surroundings, wonderfully unprejudiced, no miracle had been performed in her, and she was not really emancipated. The slave may rebel against his fetters; you may strike them off and tell him that he is henceforth free to go anywhere and do anything; but he does not, therefore, immediately become a free man. The wrongs as well as the sins of the fathers rest upon more generations than one; they cannot be shaken off in a day.

The only degree of freedom which this lady, who appears to us so charming as a letter-writer, had attained to, was culture; and as Pierre Loti, in constructing a romance out of her history, truly observed, from the culture allowed to Turkish women suffering must necessarily follow. Culture and so deep a degree of sexual subjection as that which had been imposed on her were incompatible; culture drove her into flight, but culture was not able to interpret to her the life and the deep needs underlying the shortcomings of other nations.

In the end love of country draws her back again to work within the narrower confines of her own native conditions for the emancipation of the women she most understands, and so can most sympathise with. Probably she was right; native missionaries are best, and in the supply of the home-material lies the real proof that a nation's hour has come.

But though only partially emancipated herself, this Turkish woman has eyes to see and discern the great wrong that is being done in our own midst now. "I do not pretend to understand the Suffragettes or their 'window-smashing' policy," she writes in her farewell letter—

> "but I must say I am even more surprised at the attitude of your Government. . . . I cannot tell you the horrible impression it produces on the mind of a Turkish woman to learn that England not only imprisons, but tortures, women. To me it is the cataclysm of all my most cherished faiths. Ever since I can remember, England has been to me a kind of Paradise on earth . . . it was the land of all lands I longed to visit, and now I hear a Liberal Government is torturing women!"

That is the verdict from outside of a woman who is no fanatic, whose inclination is to look more favourably upon those who are responsible for our present social order than on those who are fighting against it: here with us she would probably rank as an ultra-conservative, yet that is how the fact strikes her; and that probably is how it strikes a good many of our contemporaries abroad. Let us hope that the example set by our Government, when it has failed, will save other countries from having to pass through the same disgrace. L. H.

A MAN'S NOVEL

Mr. Raffalovich tells us in the preface to "Hearts Adrift" (Francis Griffiths, 6s.) that in 1906 he knew only a few words of English. That in 1913 he should be able to write a book in English is therefore remarkable, and he is to be congratulated on his command of the language. Nevertheless, the book reads to a certain extent like a translation, inasmuch as the conversations, though written in English, are not the conversations of English people. Nor are the Huddlestones an English family. An English lady does not suggest that her daughter should go shopping with a man to whom she has just been introduced; nor does an English girl call upon a man in his rooms, even though she has once been engaged to him. As for Irene Huddlestone, who permits herself this indiscretion—with dire results—is there any nation to whose womanhood she is true? Described as being endowed with unusual strength of character and brain, she becomes bodily ill and mentally miserable as the result of breaking off her engagement to a man she is not in love with, and does not want to marry.

Mr. Raffalovich admires the English and dislikes the French; but we cannot accept the assertion that there is no family life in France, nor believe that even a light-minded Frenchwoman who leaves her husband because she thinks she is not worthy of him, would choose to seek death by means of the vilest dissipation. Perhaps, after all, it is not English nature that Mr. Raffalovich needs to study, but human nature. Yet once in a way he strikes a true note. Maurice du Regard, one of the heroes, is a gentleman who has become disgusted with ordinary intrigues and longs "for the chaste maiden who would help him to find again his soul in a body purified by love." We know this type; it is universal, and in no way remarkable. The author, at any date, knows something about men, though he has little understanding of women. G.

---

* "A Turkish Woman's European Impressions." By Zeyneb Hanoum. Edited by Grace Ellison. (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1913. 6s. net.)

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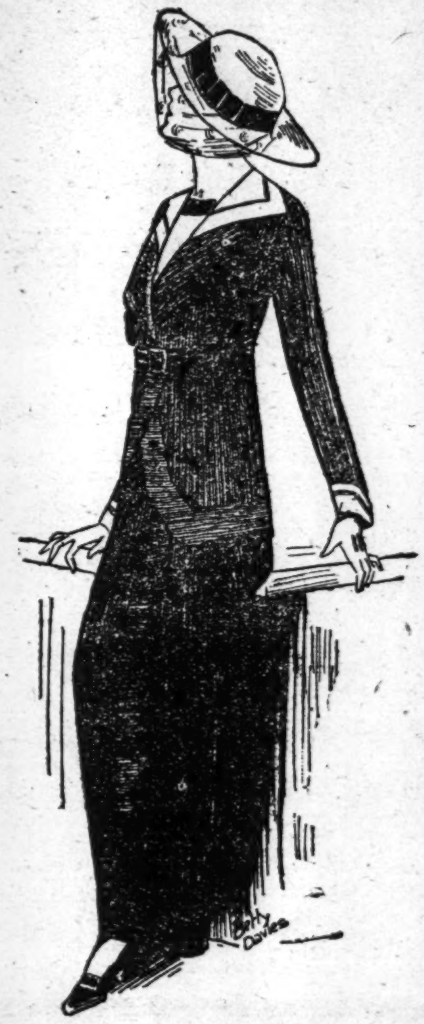

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CHAIR:
Mr. H. W. NEVINSON.
SPEAKERS:
Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,
Mr. ISRAEL ZANGWILL,
Mr. H. D. HARBEN, and others.

TICKETS (2s., 1s., 6d. and 3d.) can be obtained at the above address; the International Suffrage shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand; the W.S.P.U. Shop, 143, Church Street, Kensington; the Suffrage Tea Shop, 17, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.; the Votes for Women Shop, 52, Praed Street; Mr. Teague at the Bookstall, Kingsway Hall; other W.S.P.U. Offices and Shops, and at the door.

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FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1913.

WORSE THAN FORCIBLE FEEDING

We are conscious of a deep sense of national humiliation in the prospect of the speedy passage into law of the measure which we have branded from the first as the "Cat and Mouse" Bill. Utterly futile as we are certain it will prove to be for the purpose for which it was intended, it will nevertheless inflict upon the bodies of some of the most heroic women that have ever lived a torture which passes the limits of human imagination.

It is sought to defend the Bill on two grounds. Firstly, it is said that it is necessary to uphold the dignity of the Law, which has been brought into contempt by the releases from prison of the hunger strikers. To this we reply that this Bill will itself bring the Law into far greater contempt, not only because it will inevitably fail, but because its provisions, when rightly understood (as they will be when an attempt has been made to put them into practice), will be found to be an outrage upon all sense of public decency. The enactment of such a repugnant measure will be injurious to the respect in which all law ought to be held, and will pour contempt upon the Estates of the Realm which have seen fit to endorse it.

The second ground of defence is equally worthless. It is suggested that the method provided by the Bill is a preferable alternative to the horrible practice of forcible feeding. We say without hesitation that it is neither an alternative nor preferable. It is quite true that when the Bill was first introduced an attempt was made to render it acceptable to the House of Commons and to the country by the suggestion that it would be used to supersede the practice of forcible feeding; but both in the debate on the second reading and in Committee on Monday last Mr. McKenna repudiated any intention of abandoning this other method. He even refused in any way to pledge himself not to proceed against the same prisoner both by feeding by force and by the powers provided by this Bill. It is therefore perfectly clear that the measure provides not an alternative, but an addition to the method of torture already being put into operation against a hunger-striking prisoner. It is being adopted not because forcible feeding is too barbarous, but because it has proved ineffective, because it has not enabled Mr. McKenna to keep a hunger striker in prison till the close of her sentence.

But even regarded as an alternative to forcible feeding, we deny that it is preferable. Except from the point of view of an outrage on the person, it is infinitely worse. The old method had at least this merit, that when once the combined effect of starvation and torture had done their work and had brought the prisoner down to the gate of death humanity stepped in and release was given, so that the gentle and loving hands of friends might nurse the weak body back to life. But under the new order all this is changed; the bulletin of returning health will only sound the knell of liberty; the prison gates are again to open to receive the revivified flesh, and, once within, the devitalising process is to begin anew. And this is to go on again and again and again unless the proud spirit bends in submission or, leaving the body, returns to God who gave it!

What devilish business is this? Is the public to watch the news as it is given to them week by week of the tide of life ebbing and flowing; is it to be as unconcerned as the spectators at the bloody games of ancient Rome? If not, how soon will it be before it revolts? One hundred and fifty victims have not sufficed to show up the full degradation of feeding by force; how many will the new Bill be required to torture before the public conscience be aroused?

And let no one argue that this torture is excusable because the prisoner has committed a grievous crime or because she has it in her power to have the torture stopped by submission. Such arguments would have equally justified the Spaniard in his persecution of the heroic Dutchmen who were fighting for their independence under William the Silent, or Bomba in his attempts to quell the insurrection of his Italian subjects. Yet these tyrants are not exonerated on this account to-day; they suffer the full condemnation of history.

Torture admits of no condonation. Coercion of the kind contemplated in this Bill is utterly unjustified against those whose desperate actions have been directly caused by the crooked dealings of those in power. There is only one course honourably open to the Government. Let them put aside these hateful methods of coercion. Let them frankly admit women to equal citizenship with men, and so bring the present deplorable situation to an end.

"INDIGNANT MOTHER"

By Evelyn Sharp

"'The women of England,'" read Mr. Wainwright from his evening paper, "'would do well to pause and think before they deliver over their country into the hands of outrageous females who trample the delicate flower of womanhood in the dust.'"

He laid down the paper and looked to his wife for a suitable comment. As none came, he endeavoured to give her a lead. "That's a very sensible letter, don't you think?" he said genially.

Susan Wainwright rolled up the pair of socks she had just finished darning and started on another pair in a businesslike fashion.

"I suppose," she remarked, "that some of the women of England have time to pause and think. This one hasn't."

"Exactly the point of this letter!" exclaimed Mr. Wainwright triumphantly.

She threw him an enquiring glance between threading her needle and plunging it into the toe of his sock. "I thought it said the women of England *were* to pause and think," she observed. "But, very likely, I mistook the meaning of the letter. I wasn't listening very attentively."

"In a sense you are right, Susan," he answered, conscious of exercising patience. "The letter does say so, but merely as a figure of speech. What it really means is that the great heart of the women of England is sound, and they are totally indifferent to the campaign of hysteria and criminality that is now being waged by a small handful of unsexed creatures. It means that Woman *as* Woman is unchanged; she is still content to stay in the home, to adorn the hearth and to be queen of the realm in which she reigns supreme." He paused, surprised at his own eloquence. Susan darned steadily.

"Oh!" she said. "If he meant all that, it's a pity he didn't say so, isn't it? It's so misleading to say one thing and to mean half a page of other things as well. But, of course, I'm not a letter writer, and he is."

"He?" repeated Cuthbert Wainwright, enquiringly. "The letter is signed 'Indignant Mother.'"

For the first time she dropped her work. "What?" she exclaimed, and broke into a rare laugh. "That—that is rather funny, isn't it? I really think it's the funniest thing I've heard for a long time!" Asked with some asperity what there was to laugh at, she checked her mirth and resumed her darning. "It doesn't sound to me like the sort of letter a mother would write," she explained. "But I daresay she was so indignant when she wrote it that she hardly knew what she was saying."

"Ah!" said her husband affectionately. "You've been so sheltered, little woman. You haven't come in contact with these female hooligans."

"No doubt that is the reason," she agreed. "Do tell me what they look like, Cuthbert. I'm just dying to know."

"My dear!" he remonstrated. "I've not met any of them. Surely, you don't suppose——"

"Why not?" was the imperturbable reply. "You say your office is surrounded by police night and day, so I naturally supposed the creatures came down Whitehall at least once a day to smash your windows. I'm most disappointed you haven't seen any of them. Haven't you really?"

"Certainly not," said Cuthbert shortly. "And I don't wish to."

"Some of the people who write those letters to the paper seem to have actually met Suffragettes," continued his wife, bending rather intently over a large cavity in the heel of the stocking she had just picked out of her basket. "There was one in last night's paper—signed 'Paterfamilias' I think it was——"

"A ridiculous effusion!" snapped Mr. Wainwright. "The letter I've just read aloud is, in fact, an answer to his."

"Well, he had at least met a Suffragette," persisted Susan. "His own daughter, he said, who had nearly died of the hunger strike——"

"Her own fault!" said Cuthbert impatiently. "Entirely her own fault. The food was there. Why didn't she take it? If she'd been my daughter——"

"Yes?" said his wife quickly. "What would you have done? Oh, you absurd darling! I can tell you exactly what you would have done, if it had been our Janet. You—you'd have written the same letter to the paper that 'Paterfamilias' did; and then you'd have ordered a dozen copies from Smith's and sent them round to all your——"

"Look here!" interrupted Cuthbert, turning a guilty red. "What nonsense is this you're talking?"

"It's nothing compared to the nonsense you've written in that letter signed 'Indignant Mother'!" cried Susan, and she yielded this time to irrepressible laughter.

"How did you know?" asked Mr. Wainwright, when he was tired of standing on the rug with his back to her, rearranging his tie savagely in front of the looking-glass.

"Waste-paper basket," she answered, wiping her eyes. "Well, I can't help seeing what you throw away in the waste-paper basket," she added in response to an angry growl. "It's impossible to be queen of the hearth and all the other things you mention unless I keep your study clear of rubbish. For that matter, I should have guessed about it from the enormous order you sent to Smith for to-night's paper. There's nothing else in to-night's paper you *could* have written—though why you signed yourself 'Indignant Mother' beats me altogether."

"I was fool enough to think it would put you off the scent," he admitted, with a rueful smile. She laughed up at him and put out a hand with a needle in it, and he came and turned over the unmended things in her basket and laughed a little. "You see," he went on, "I wanted your candid opinion of my letter before I told you who had written it." He paused once more for the candid opinion, and sighed when it did not come. He was really very much disappointed in Susan, this evening. "I—I rather hoped you would like the bit about the delicate flower of womanhood," he said.

She made a sudden movement and threw the stocking she was mending into the basket, went and made up the fire extravagantly, though it was just bedtime, and sat down on the rug in front of it, hugging her knees to her chin. "Did you really think I should like that?" she asked him slowly. "Oh, Cuthbert! Did you? Did you, really?"

He was surprised at her tone, and said so. "You're tired, little woman, that's what it is," he added kindly.

"Don't you mean overwrought?" she retorted. "Generally, if a woman allows herself to say the thing she means instead of the thing she is expected to say, she is told she's overwrought." Before he could disclaim any such masculine intention, she turned the conversation with bewildering suddenness. "Do you remember when Janet went off for that walking tour, last October?" she asked him abruptly.

He humoured her strange mood with all the indulgence of which he was capable. "Why, yes, dear, of course I do," he said in his most soothing manner. "She came back sooner than we expected, looking as if it hadn't done her any good. Didn't she develop indigestion, or something?"

"She had been in Holloway Gaol for seven days without food," said his wife. "They didn't find it out; and when they did they had to release her because it wasn't safe to feed her forcibly. She came home and daren't tell us what she had done; so she went about her work as usual, and ate all the ordinary meals, though it was agony to her. Indigestion! We might have killed her, you and I, all because of our want of understanding."

She said all this uninterrupted, because he was too deeply astounded to say a word. Then she hugged her knees a little tighter and stared into the fire, and waited for the explosion.

* * * * * * *

"When did you find it out?" he asked presently. The explosion had taken place, and was no better and no worse than she had expected; in fact, if she had had to write it all down beforehand she could have done it, almost word for word.

"About a week ago," she answered reluctantly. She hated hurting him, and she knew how badly he was hurt already. "Cousin Milly was here, and she asked Janet how long she would have taken over that walking tour if she hadn't given it up in the middle. Janet answered, 'Fourteen days,' then she turned red and corrected herself hastily and said, 'A fortnight, I mean.' Cousin Milly didn't notice, but I did. Afterwards, I asked the child, and she told me."

"I—I sincerely hope you——"

"Well, I didn't then!" interrupted his wife. "If you want Janet scolded you'd better do it yourself—though I know very well you won't! For my part, I felt too much ashamed to do anything but ask her to forgive us both."

Mr. Wainwright sat down helplessly. Clearly, there was no word for it but overwrought, though he was sufficiently discriminating not to employ it aloud. "Am I to understand, then, that you as well as my daughter are a Suffragette?" he asked with what seemed to him superhuman self-control.

"I'm sure I don't know what I am," answered Susan, shaking her head. "I only know that I understand why Janet is one."

She was on her feet in another moment and had taken both his hands in hers, with one of her characteristic, impetuous movements. "Janet is a whole generation ahead of us, Cuthbert," she cried. "We've led such an abominably sheltered life, you and I, dear—I in my comfortable home, and you in that police-guarded Government office; and life, real life that matters, has passed us by and left us behind and gone on without us. We might have killed our little girl, because of it. Oh, Cuthbert! Don't you see what a tragedy we've escaped?"

Cuthbert, who had been obstinately avoiding her eyes, looked up at her suspiciously as she said this. "'Life, real life that matters, has passed us by,'" he repeated. "Surely that is what 'Paterfamilias' said in the letter I've answered in to-night's paper?"

Susan's eyelids flickered. "Yes," she said; "I—I rather think he did."

With a sense of relief they both realised that an unpleasantly emotional moment was over. Grasping at a straw, as families do when carried away on a wave of unusual feeling, they allowed the humour of the situation to turn them once more into the two middle-aged and commonplace people that they were.

"You see," faltered Susan, "I w-wanted your c-candid opinion on my letter—and I got it." They dissolved into weak and helpless laughter as she fished out last night's evening paper from under the pile of stockings in her basket.

Janet, coming in late from a Suffrage meeting, found them poring over the correspondence columns of the evening paper.

"How can you read that drivel?" she asked wonderingly. "It's obviously written by the office boy!"

THE REUNION—MAY 7

As the day on which the Editors are to have the pleasure of meeting the members of the Votes for Women Fellowship draws nearer, we are realizing more and more fully the deep spirit of comradeship by which all are animated. Many and various are the promises of help which are being made and which will be expressed in concrete shape and entered on the gift card, a facsimile of which we printed in the paper last week.

We have been asked to say in which column of gifts "street-selling of the paper" is to be enumerated; we reply, in the last column, headed "Other service." There is no form of service which is more valuable or more exacting than standing hour after hour to sell papers in the streets or outside public meetings. For this reason no mere figure representing the actual number of copies disposed of during the preceding few weeks adequately represents the service rendered. We suggest, therefore, that it be expressed in words such as "regular street-selling," to which the average number disposed of each week might be added.

We direct the attention of all friends of the paper to the membership card for the Fellowship which has just been printed, and which will be found reproduced on page 433 of this issue. The objects of the Fellowship and its relation to the other parts of the Suffrage movement are there all clearly stated. We shall be glad to send the card to any prospective member, and to extend a welcome to any who may desire to enrol themselves with us for the purpose of mutual encouragement.

Plans for the Evening

A delightful part of the programme on May 7 will be the short speeches which we are to have from two of the most stalwart workers in the Suffrage cause. Miss Beatrice Harraden and Mr. Henry Nevinson, who are both so well known to all our readers, and who have often so generously contributed to our columns, have kindly promised to be with us and to speak for us. The Editors will also each say a few words, and this, together with the part played by the audience, will take up all the time not devoted to the purely social side of the evening.

Any Fellows who hope to be present but who have not yet received their card of invitation are requested to write to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C., without delay.

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(To April 22, 1913.)

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H. Wallace-Burne, Esq.	0	4	11	Mrs. Sinclair	0	2	6
Mrs. Hunt	0	2	6	Miss H. M. Todhunter	0	2	6
Mrs. Frigland	0	5	0	Miss A. K. Robertson	1	0	0
Mrs. Holroyd	0	2	6	Mrs. and Miss F. Dale	0	3	6
Miss M. Phillips	0	1	0	Miss H. Turnbull	0	3	0
Profit on Leeds Meeting	15	0	0	Miss A. E. Hulme	1	5	0
Miss J. Wade	0	5	0	Mrs. Granville	0	7	0
Mrs. Jacobs	0	3	3	Miss A. Fraser	0	5	0
Mrs. A. E. Hall	0	10	0	Miss C. I. James	0	2	6
Mrs. Bouvier	0	1	6	Total	254	5	4

THE CAT AND MOUSE BILL

Committee Stage in the House of Commons, April 21.—Third Reading Passed, April 23

Last Monday, the House went into Committee and resumed the consideration of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill Health) Bill upon an amendment which was under consideration when progress was reported on April 9. The object of the amendment, which was moved by Sir A. Cripps, was to ensure that the conditions of release should be incorporated in the statute.

PASSAGES FROM THE DEBATE

SHOULD THE CONDITIONS OF THE LICENCE BE STATUTORY?

Sir A. Cripps: The House ought to have the responsibility of laying down conditions. They ought not to be left to the discretion of any Home Secretary for the time being, whether he be a sentimentalist or a harsh individual.

Sir F. Banbury's "But"

Sir F. Banbury: He would not like to give a blank cheque to any Home Secretary to put into the licence any conditions which might seem to him good. "I myself," he added, "am an anti-suffragist, but that does not blind me to a sense of justice and of prudence."

Mr. McCurdy: Troublesome and annoying as were the experiences of the right hon. gentleman in view of the deplorable agitation going on throughout the country, they furnished no sufficient reason for suspending the ordinary Constitutional safeguards.

"This Bill, in effect, gloss it how you will, creates either a new punishment for an old offence, or a new punishment for a new offence, and introduces into the English law a novel, and I should have thought to every constitutionalist and democrat, an entirely repugnant doctrine."

Mr. Ronald McNeill: It was only because he regarded the whole Bill as futile that he was prepared to support the amendment. The women would certainly refuse to comply with any conditions, and there would be a great temptation for the Home Secretary to adopt a bullying policy towards the prisoners. There was no security in laying the conditions of the licence on the table of the House, because under the present procedure of the House, no matter how long a paper of that sort might lie upon the table, there would be no real opportunity for the House to take it into consideration and discuss its terms.

Mr. Atherley Jones: The Bill would not pass in its present form if it had the deliberate judgment of the House. Unfortunately, those who took no part in the debate, and did not consider the subject-matter under debate, would flock into the lobbies and outvote those who were trying to give the matter proper consideration.

Mr. McKenna: There was a great distinction to be drawn between a licence issued under this Bill and a licence issued under the Penal Servitude Acts, and all analogies drawn from the actual licence issued in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst and a licence issued under this Bill were false in substance. During the currency of Mrs. Pankhurst's licence, her sentence was expiring. She ought to be in prison. The fundamental difference under this Bill was that during the currency of the licence the sentence would not be running, and, consequently, in any licence issued under the Bill there ought not, in his judgment, to be any punitive conditions, for the prisoner was still liable to serve the whole period of the sentence. He had earlier in their discussions read the conditions he proposed to impose, and if a prisoner did not conform to them she would be seized and brought back to prison.

Lord R. Cecil asked whether a prisoner would be under surveillance during the time she was out of gaol.

Mr. McKenna: She would not be under surveillance in the same sense that Mrs. Pankhurst was under surveillance, nor would she be under any observation of an inconvenient or punitive kind. If she failed to notify the police of any change in her address she would have broken the licence, and then he should be justified on finding her in picketing that house in order to prevent her escaping again.

Mr. MacCullum Scott asked whether a prisoner released on licence would be perfectly free to live where she chose.

Mr. McKenna: The prisoner would be perfectly free to go to whatever residence she chose upon leaving the prison.

Mr. Harold Smith: And leaving the country?

Mr. McKenna: No.

Lord R. Cecil: How are you going to stop her?

Mr. McKenna: It might be easy for a prisoner to escape out of the country. That was one of the evils of the case; they could not avoid it. He hoped it was not improper for him to say so, but he would be very tempted to leave her out of the jurisdiction.

The Bill was very urgent. Personally, he was most anxious, as soon as he could, to get rid of the necessity for forcible feeding, and he could only do so, unless he disregarded his duty as he conceived it, by getting a power of the kind the Bill gave him. If he inserted the draft licence in the Bill it would inevitably delay the Bill at least a week.

Sir A. Markham said the conditions proposed were mean, cruel, and unworthy of the House of Commons, and they would bring the House into ridicule without making one step forward in the direction of upholding the law. He thought this really was a "cat and mouse" Bill in the worst sense.

"The women are determined," he added, "in this matter to fight the Home Secretary, and I think they are not going to be deterred by any body of permanent officials, or by the Home Secretary. I was told by a Member of the Cabinet that this Bill was the decision of the Cabinet. All I can say is that the Cabinet have very little sense if this is the kind of Bill they are proposing."

When the Committee divided on the amendment it was thrown out by 222 votes to 117.

AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

Mr. McCurdy moved to insert at the end of the first subsection of Clause 1 the following words:—"Provided always that the provisions of this Act shall not apply in the case of any female prisoner who may have been subjected to forcible or artificial feeding while in prison unless such artificial feeding has been administered with the consent of the prisoner given in writing or upon an occasion or occasions when the prisoner by reason of unconsciousness or infirmity was unable to consent as aforesaid." The adoption of this amendment would enable the Home Secretary to do away with the duty or the necessity of forcible feeding. If the Bill had any justification in the minds of hon. members and of a majority of the people that justification was to be found in its supposed intention to provide an alternative to the forcible feeding of prisoners.

Mr. McKenna denied that he had said if the Bill passed he would on no occasion avail himself of the practice of forcible feeding, though he hoped the Bill would in practice get rid of the necessity in the majority of cases.

A lively discussion on forcible feeding followed.

Mr. Barnes: If the Home Secretary would say that he did not intend the Bill to be an addition to his existing power but an alternative, he was disposed to support the Bill.

Mr. R. M'Neill: The Home Secretary's statement would be a disagreeable surprise to many supporters of the Bill. He believed the Bill would be ineffective and that forcible feeding would be just as common as hitherto.

Mr. Munro: The power which the Home Secretary asked for was reasonable, as he had stated that he intended to use it sparingly.

Sir A. Markham's "If"

There was only one other method of dealing with the women *if* they were not given the vote, and that was to put food before them and let them take the consequences, said Sir A. Markham.

Mr. Keir Hardie: If the men had displayed the courage of the women they would have been eulogised to all the corners of the earth. "When these women have fought for their freedom," he added, "give them a chance, and do not say that you are going to torture them in prison, let them out and feed them as you would a half-worried rat in a cockpit and then take them back once more to go through all the horrors and tortures."

Sir A. Markham: The whole idea of forcible feeding was repugnant to the mind of all decent people, and he did not see how the House of Commons could be party to a Bill of this kind.

The Committee divided, and the Amendment was rejected by 240 to 36.

OTHER AMENDMENTS

Mr. Keir Hardie moved the addition of a provision that the section should not apply in the case of any person whose condition of health was due in whole or in part to flogging administered while in prison.

After some discussion this was withdrawn, and

Sir A. Markham then moved to omit sub-section 2 of Clause 1, which provides that a prisoner shall comply with any conditions stated in the licence, and failing to do so, may be arrested without warrant and taken back to prison. On a division, this was negatived by 240 to 36.

Mr. Hume-Williams moved the insertion of words providing that a prisoner discharged under the Bill should be under supervision, as in the case of probation orders made by Judges in Criminal Courts. This was to do away with the necessity of surrounding the house with detectives.

Mr. McKenna: By accepting the amendment he would be adding to the sentence imposed on the prisoner. As to his "simplicity," he did not believe that the Bill would be a panacea, but he did believe that it would assist to shorten the life of the mania for the hunger-strike.

Mr. Keir Hardie: It gave him unqualified satisfaction to support the Home Secretary. He opposed the amendment in the interest of the person who would be appointed to supervise the liberated prisoner. If anyone wanted to realise the utmost limit of torture let him imagine a court missionary put inside a house with half a dozen suffragettes, and told to keep an eye on them.

The amendment was negatived; and so was another (by 257 to 37), moved by Mr. Keir Hardie, to omit the words authorising the arrest without warrant of the prisoner who failed to comply with the terms of the licence.

Mr. Worthington Evans: If the Bill was to be passed at all, it must be made effective.

SHOULD THE PERIOD OF LICENCE BE COUNTED?

Mr. Keir Hardie moved the omission of sub-section 3 in order that the period of the licence might be reckoned as time during which the sentence was being served.

Mr. T. M. Healy: The Government had not made sufficient allowance for the sufferings of prisoners. There was not a member of the House who would go without his dinner, but these women fasted for days, and their sufferings in that time were far greater than they would be if they served the whole sentence in the ordinary way.

Mr. Ellis Griffith said it was the duty of the Executive to see that a prisoner's sentence was carried out, and he really did not think any Government could accept the responsibility of endorsing the principle of the amendment. It did not follow of necessity that the whole sentence would be served in prison, but the matter would be within the discretion of the Home Secretary.

Mr. Rutherford: This clause would inflict on the misguided women a terrible punishment—that of being subjected to frequent starvations—out of all proportion even to the very objectionable crimes they committed. He appealed to the Home Secretary to mitigate the clause in some way.

The amendment was defeated by 220 to 31.

"Forcing a Coercion Bill through"

Mr. Keir Hardie, moving to report progress, said the Government were forcing a Coercion Bill through by means of the gag. His motion was rejected by 186 votes to 19.

OTHER OBNOXIOUS CLAUSES DISCUSSED

Mr. McKenna, replying on a motion by Sir A. Markham to omit the provision with regard to penal servitude, said that it was proposed that when the order of discharge was made the prisoner was not to be considered as being in prison, and therefore the sub-section was necessary to meet the case of a sentence of penal servitude.

The amendment was defeated by 179 votes to 12.

Mr. Keir Hardie then moved the omission of the provision with regard to medical officers.

Mr. McKenna: The words in the Bill would leave the law with regard to forcible feeding exactly where it stood before the Bill was passed.

Sir A. Markham said the House had no business to put the disgusting work of forcible feeding upon public servants.

Mr. Keir Hardie said the whole object of the Home Secretary in inserting this provision was to legalize forcible feeding, the legality of which was doubtful.

The amendment was negatived.

A NEW CLAUSE

Mr. Hume-Williams moved a new clause that the Bill should remain in operation for one year unless continued by Parliament.

Mr. McKenna: In any circumstances in which the Bill could apply it ought to apply. He could see nothing temporary in the application of the principle.

The clause was withdrawn, and the Bill was reported without amendment to the House.

The House stood adjourned at twenty minutes past one o'clock.

THE THIRD READING

April 23

At the close of questions on Wednesday afternoon Mr. Bonar Law asked why the Prisoners' Discharge Bill had been put down for the first order instead of the Soudan Loan Bill as promised.

Mr. Lloyd George said it had all along been intended to take the Prisoners' Discharge Bill to-day if it had not been finished. The Home Office informed him that it was important to get the Bill through.

THE DEBATE

On the motion for the third reading of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, Mr. Keir Hardie said he thought the Home Secretary should have given some reason why they was such a desperate hurry to get the Bill on the Statute-book. Was the Bill to be retrospective? Was it to be applicable to prisoners now undergoing sentence?

Mr. McKenna: Certainly.

Mr. Keir Hardie: That being so, he understood the haste, but he desired to utter a final protest against it. If the Home Secretary imagined he was securing compliance with the law, allaying the agitation, or breaking the spirit of the women who were fighting, he was living in a fool's paradise.

The Bill was unnecessarily harsh and cruel for the purpose for which it was intended. He objected to the fresh powers given to the Home Office and police. The only way to remedy the grievance was to give the women the vote.

Mr. Munro: He was a believer in Woman Suffrage, and as such supported the Bill. The present situation was quite intolerable, and required a drastic remedy.

Sir A. Markham: He would oppose the Bill, and denounced it as a measure that was cruel, and would be ineffective. With regard to forcible feeding as an argument for hurrying the Bill through, he had no sympathy with slobbery sentimentalism which said a woman who conspired to defeat the law by refusing to take food should not be allowed to suffer the consequences of her refusal.

Mr. Hume Williams followed, and after some further debate the Home Secretary replied.

Mr. McKenna: There were three classes of prisoners he had to consider: (1) those who took their food naturally, (2) those physically capable of forcible feeding, and (3) those whose health was such that they could not be forcibly fed without serious risk to their health. The Bill enabled him to grant the third class a temporary discharge, and therefore this enabled him to come nearer the due enforcement of the sentences of the Court.

The House then divided, and the third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 238.

THE DIVISION

The figures were as follows:—

For the Third Reading	294
Against	56
Government majority	238

IN THE PRESS

CRUEL AND CLUMSY CLEMENCY

What may be described as a preliminary trial of the operation and results of Mr. McKenna's Provisional Release of Prisoners Bill has been made, the subject of the experiment being Mrs. Pankhurst. . . . Can anyone wonder that Mrs. Pankhurst's first act on getting outside prison was to tear up her licence? Mr. McKenna himself can scarcely have expected a different reception of his cruel and clumsy clemency, nor can he reasonably look for anything else, when he restores Mrs. Pankhurst to Holloway, than a repetition of her previous tactics, which, at whatever cost to herself, have served so conspicuously to bring the law and those charged with its administration into contempt. They have been made to appear in the character of the mediæval inquisitors, who gave surcease of torture to those committed to their tender mercies only for so long a period as was necessary for regaining sufficient strength to be again subjected to the ordeal.

Public opinion, of which Mr. McKenna stands in such awe, will hardly endure to stand by and look on while this new form of martyrdom is proceeding; it will infinitely prefer "forcible feeding," if no better way can be found out of the quandary in which the Government, from want of commonsense and foresight as much as from misfortune, have allowed themselves and the law to be involved by Mrs. Pankhurst and the zealots of women's suffrage. Mr. McKenna's experiment is not identical with the solution attempted in the Bill, but is on similar lines. The Government plan may therefore be said to have already been tried and found to be of worse than no effect—it can only serve to waste further the time of Parliament.—**Scotsman**

WHAT THE BILL WILL NOT STOP

FORCIBLE FEEDING CONFERENCE

A private conference was held at the offices of the National Political League on Thursday in last week, to consider what further steps could be taken to bring pressure to bear on the Government in order to secure the immediate abolition of forcible feeding, which, in the opinion of the league, is now being used as a "punitive weapon" by the Home Secretary.

Among the letters read from sympathisers was one from the Rev. R. J. Campbell, saying that torture could not be recognised as forming part of the English penal system; and another from Captain St. John, Secretary of the Penal Reform League, in which he stated that—

"This twentieth century form of torture would quickly have been dropped if the Royal College of Physicians, or whatever the proper medical authority is, had promptly made a public pronouncement of what they surely must know to be a fact, namely, that whereas the artificial feeding of the mentally affected person may sometimes be necessary and humane, the forcible feeding of sane and resisting persons is a dangerous form of torture, and that artificial feeding in any form requires sympathetic and expert handling and proper hospital or sickroom surroundings, such as are not to be found in prison."

Miss Broadhurst spoke of Mr. McKenna's intention to retain under the new Bill his powers of forcible feeding; and in view of that statement the League felt further steps must be taken.

Sir Edward Busk expressed his "extreme disgust and horror and shame that this practice goes on," and compared the public inaction in the matter with the public outcry against flogging the worst kind of criminals.

At the conclusion of the conference it was unanimously agreed to send as soon as possible a representative deputation of eminent men to wait upon Mr. Asquith and other members of the Cabinet to protest strongly against the continuance of the practice of forcible feeding. This, if ineffectual, will be followed by others, and in the event of such representations being ignored another public meeting will be held and further steps considered with a view to securing its ultimate abolition.

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QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

April 21

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether his attention has been drawn to the inquest held by the Stafford coroner on the death of Edmund John Taunton, who died whilst being forcibly fed through the nose in an institution where he was a patient; and whether, in view of the danger to health which is thus shown to be associated with forcible feeding, he will order the immediate discontinuance of the practice in His Majesty's prisons?

Mr. McKenna: I have seen the evidence in the case referred to. The patient died of disease of the heart after artificial feeding. If he had been left without food his death would have been inevitable, and the medical officers of the asylum, which was a hospital (not a county asylum) had therefore to take the risk of feeding him artificially. This course was clearly necessary, and the jury so found. The answer to the latter part of the question is in the negative.

April 21

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he is aware that the relatives of Mr. Hugh Franklin, who is hunger-striking in Pentonville Gaol, have been informed that his nervous system is so seriously impaired that his reason is endangered; whether, in order to allay their anxiety and at the same time avert the possibility of Franklin's reason being permanently impaired, he will authorise an examination by a specialist to ascertain the facts; and whether his condition is now such as to justify him in ordering his release?

Mr. McKenna: If any such information as is mentioned in the question has been conveyed to Mr. Franklin's relatives, I can only say that it is incorrect, and its communication unauthorised. Mr. Franklin's mental condition cannot, in view of the crimes he has committed, be regarded as normal, but it has not in any way deteriorated during his imprisonment. As he had lost weight to the extent of 12lb, he was examined a fortnight ago by a specialist—since then there has been no further loss of weight, and there appears to be no necessity at present for a further consultation. There is nothing in his condition to render immediate release necessary.

April 23

Mr. Touche asked on how many separate occasions the Suffragist prisoner, Mr. Hugh Franklin, now undergoing a sentence of nine months' imprisonment at Wormwood Scrubbs, has been forcibly fed; has he throughout resisted the treatment; is he still continuing his protest; and is his present physical condition satisfactory?

Mr. Ellis Griffith: During the first part of his imprisonment this prisoner was fed twice a day, latterly he has been fed three times a day. The answer to the remainder of the question is in the affirmative.

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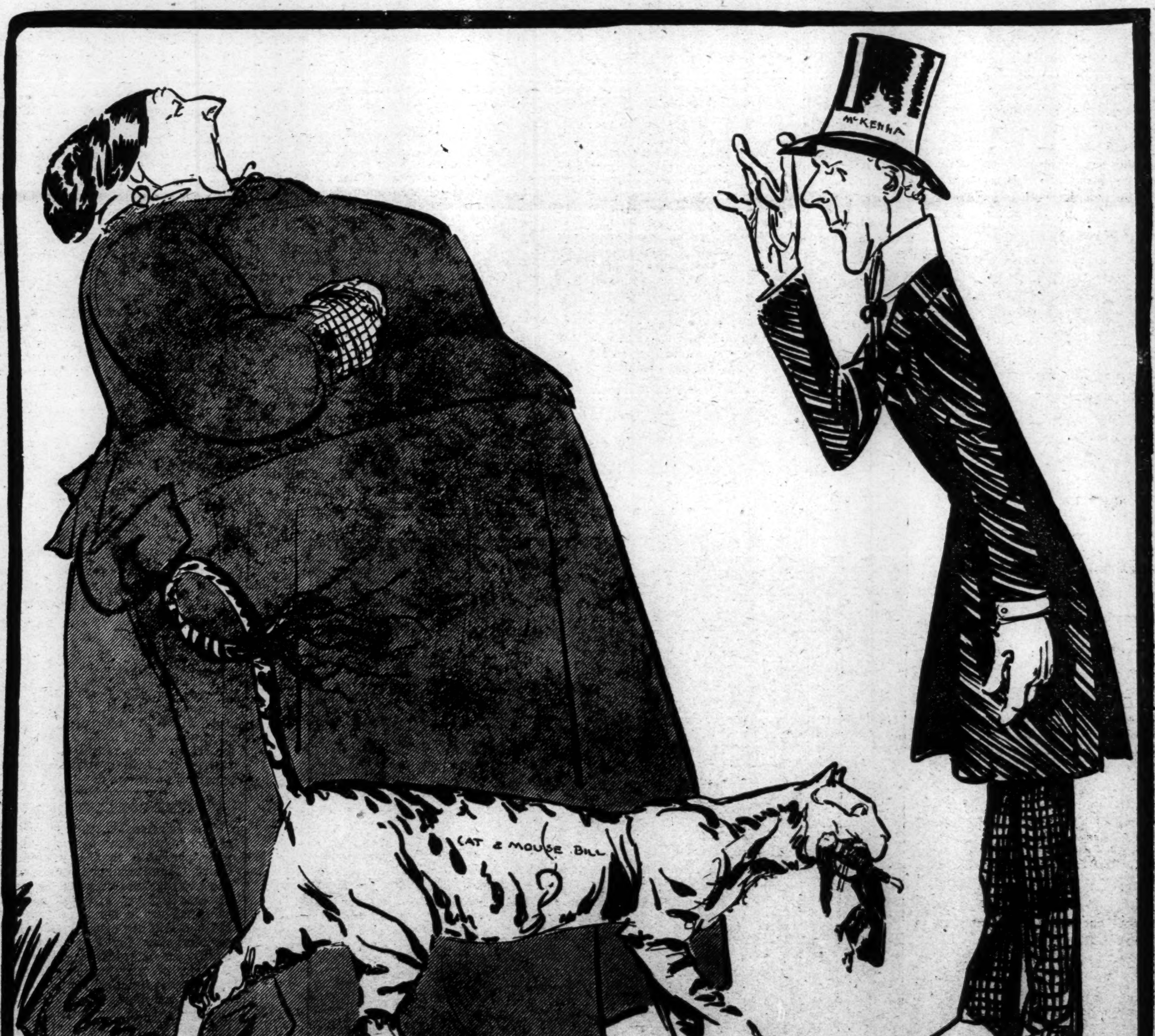
TWO PRESS COMMENTS

WHAT THEN?

Mrs. Pankhurst has been released on condition that she comes back presently to be starved again. There are other conditions. Mrs. Pankhurst's assent to these conditions has not been asked. It is as certain as anything mortal can be that she will not comply with these or any other conditions that Mr. McKenna may solemnly write on her ticket-of-leave. What then?—**Statesman.**

HE COULD NOT!

He hopes the Bill in practice will be found in the great majority of cases to get rid of the necessity of forcible feeding, but he refuses to place himself under the absolute necessity of discharging any prisoner who at some time refused to take food. This is a perfectly proper attitude to take up, and indeed Mr. McKenna could not very well take any other. — **Westminster Gazette.**



McKENNA'S CAT

M-N-G P-ST: "Don't stint that mere cat of its proper diet of human blood and it should certainly grow into a real tiger. Then how useful it would be to protect the unprotected poor from demanding their own."

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald," in which this cartoon appeared on April 19.)

THE THREE "ROBBERS AND PILLERS"

MRS. DRUMMOND AND MR. LANSBURY

Last Friday, Mrs. Drummond and Mr. George Lansbury appeared at Bow Street, before Mr. Dickinson, in answer to the summons against them, the text of which was given in our last week's issue. Mr. A. H. Bodkin (instructed by Mr. William Lewis) appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions (Sir Charles Mathews), who was present, together with the Assistant Director (Mr. Guy Stephenson); Mr. Adrian Clark defended.

"A Statute with Whiskers"

Mr. Clark, appearing for Mr. Lansbury, said the defendant was summoned under the statute of Edward III., which was so old that it had been described as having whiskers. (Laughter.) He was only served late on Tuesday night, and it was not until Thursday that he knew in any sort of detail what the evidence against him would be. In connection with this statute a point of law was to be raised in the case of Miss Kenney, the contention being that the magistrate had no jurisdiction to hear the case, and if that was upheld there would be no object in wasting the time of the Court with the present summonses. It was, therefore, suggested that they should be adjourned until after the proceedings against Miss Kenney had been disposed of. In any event, counsel would not be in a position to cross-examine the witnesses if they were called.

Mr. Bodkin said he would leave the magistrate to judge as to the reasonableness of the application. If there was a postponement he should certainly ask that an undertaking, with sureties, should be obtained from Mr. Lansbury, in order to secure the public during the interval.

"Used to the Dock"

When Mrs. Drummond was called, she "stepped briskly into the dock," according to the *Daily Telegraph*, and on being told that she might stand in front of it, as she was appearing in answer to a summons, she remarked, amid laughter, "I am so used to this." An adjournment being asked for in her case also, the magistrate agreed to adjourn both summonses until April 26, and to grant bail to the defendants on their agreeing to sign an undertaking to take no part in connection with the militant suffrage movement in the meanwhile.

Mr. Joseph Fels, the well-known Anglo-American manufacturer, and Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., became sureties for Mr. Lansbury in £100 each, and Mrs. Drummond's sureties were Mrs. Merryweather and Baron von Horst.

MISS ANNIE KENNEY

When Miss Annie Kenney appeared, on remand, at Bow Street last Tuesday to answer the summons adjourned from April 8, no evidence was offered, and on the application of Mr. Lewis, representing the Treasury, a formal remand was granted until Saturday, when the case will be heard with those of Mrs. Drummond and Mr. Lansbury. Bail was granted as before.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

April 17, 1913.

Mr. Wedgwood: I beg to ask the Home Secretary whether Mr. George Lansbury has been summoned to give sureties and be bound to the peace under Section 1 of the Act of 34 Edward III.; and, if so, will he state the words of the Act under which the powers of binding to the peace are conferred upon the magistrates, and is he aware that the Act as it stands in the Statutes of the Realm is a mistranslation of the original French?

Mr. McKenna: I understand that the answer to the first question is in the affirmative. The variation between the Norman-French text and the ancient translations has been set out in all the authorised editions of the Statutes since 1810. In view of the numerous cases which have come before the Courts, it is hardly likely to give rise to any difficulty.

Mr. Wedgwood: Are we to understand that this High Court of Parliament makes the laws of this country or that some transcriber in the fifteenth century is to make the law by which we are to be governed?

Mr. McKenna: I am not fully familiar with the facts of the case, but I understand that in one of the copies of this law the word "not" has been omitted, but it appears in others—the more reliable editions.

Mr. Wedgwood: May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he will refer to the original text of the Statute, which is to be found in the Statute Roll (Chancery), Number 1 roll, Membrane 10, which, after referring to those who have been "*pileurs et robeurs es parties de dela,*" goes on "*et de prendre de tous ceux qi sont de bone fame souffisant seurete de lour bon port, et les autres duement punir,*" and whether he will lay upon the table of the House an authorised copy of this original document in the Record Office, coupled with an authorised translation of the same?

Mr. McKenna: I will consider the point brought forward by my hon. friend, but I could not without notice answer any question on the construction of my hon. friend's early French.

Mr. Wedgwood: May I ask whether the Home Secretary has referred to the article which appeared in the "English Historical Review" of April, 1912, by two officials in the Record Office, making the case perfectly clear, and showing that the Act was only intended to refer to those persons who had come back from France after the long French war?

Mr. McKenna: Notwithstanding the authority of the officials of the Record Office, this is really a matter to be settled by decisions of the Courts.

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GEORGE LANSBURY THE REFORMER

(By Our Special Representative)

It is six or seven years ago since a writer in a Labour journal said of George Lansbury: "One day he will find himself at Westminster, where the women will find in him an ardent supporter."

How true this has proved to be we know. Indeed, it was an inevitable development in one who so single-mindedly had devoted himself to the interests of all on whom present social arrangements bear hardly or unjustly.

Lansbury was born in the Suffolk countryside, where his father was a railway sub-contractor, and his blue eyes, ruddy colouring, and straight limbs are those of the mingled Saxon and Scandinavian types found in some parts of East Anglia. He has other characteristics of the race, too—vigour of action and a dogged fighting spirit combined with a geniality which disarms personal resentment.

As a boy Lansbury came to London and worked in the East End, where presently he was apprenticed to the veneer works in which he is now partner. Struck by the great poverty amid which he found himself, he was soon engrossed in the problems presented, and the Liberals showing at that time some enthusiasm for social reform, he became an active Liberal worker and honorary secretary of the Bow and Bromley Liberal and Radical Association.

He soon found, as so many others have done, that the party did not "mean business," and ultimately it was to the growing Socialist and Labour Party that Lansbury turned. Under their auspices he became, with Mr. Will Crooks, a leader of the new party on the Poplar Board of Guardians, which endeavoured to reform the Poor Law policy in the East End, and he was appointed by the Government as a member of the Royal Commission on Poor Law and Unemployment, and also as a member of the Central Unemployed Committee. In this latter capacity he was responsible for the first serious attempts to grapple with the unemployment problem by means of labour colonies.

His contests in Bow and Bromley constituency and his career in Parliament are too recent to need recalling.

Shortly before the Labour leader was due to appear last week at Bow Street in answer to his summons, a representative of VOTES FOR WOMEN found him occupied in putting his affairs in order in view of the possibility of a constrained absence. The formidable indictment launched at him and the law's menacing language did not seem to have depressed his spirits in any way, and the interviewer was received with genial cordiality.

"It would be interesting to know when you first began to feel the importance of the women's movement and the necessity of identifying yourself with it," began our representative.

"I think there were certain things I had always felt instinctively," returned Mr. Lansbury. "For one thing, I could never understand why men—and boys too, I'm sorry to say—should regard so much of women's work—domestic work, for instance—as being menial. A hall-mark is set on such work, a sort of hall-mark of inferiority. Such men keep saying that woman's place is the home, yet look down on the work that is done there, however valuable, because those who do it are—only women, persons without the rights of citizenship.

"Then I felt how hard the working woman's life was, spent in unending labour, cooped up in a little brick house in an interminable street of similar brick houses. I saw, too, that if the boy went out to work he could have his evenings to himself for play or study, but the girls, however hard their work, must also work in the house and wait on the men and boys. This always seemed to me grossly unfair.

"So that, you see, I was always interested in the problem of women's position as a worker.

"But I think that it was during my work in connection with the Poor Law, and especially when I was on the Poor Law Commission, that I came to feel how necessary was an uprising of women, both on their own account and that of society as a whole.

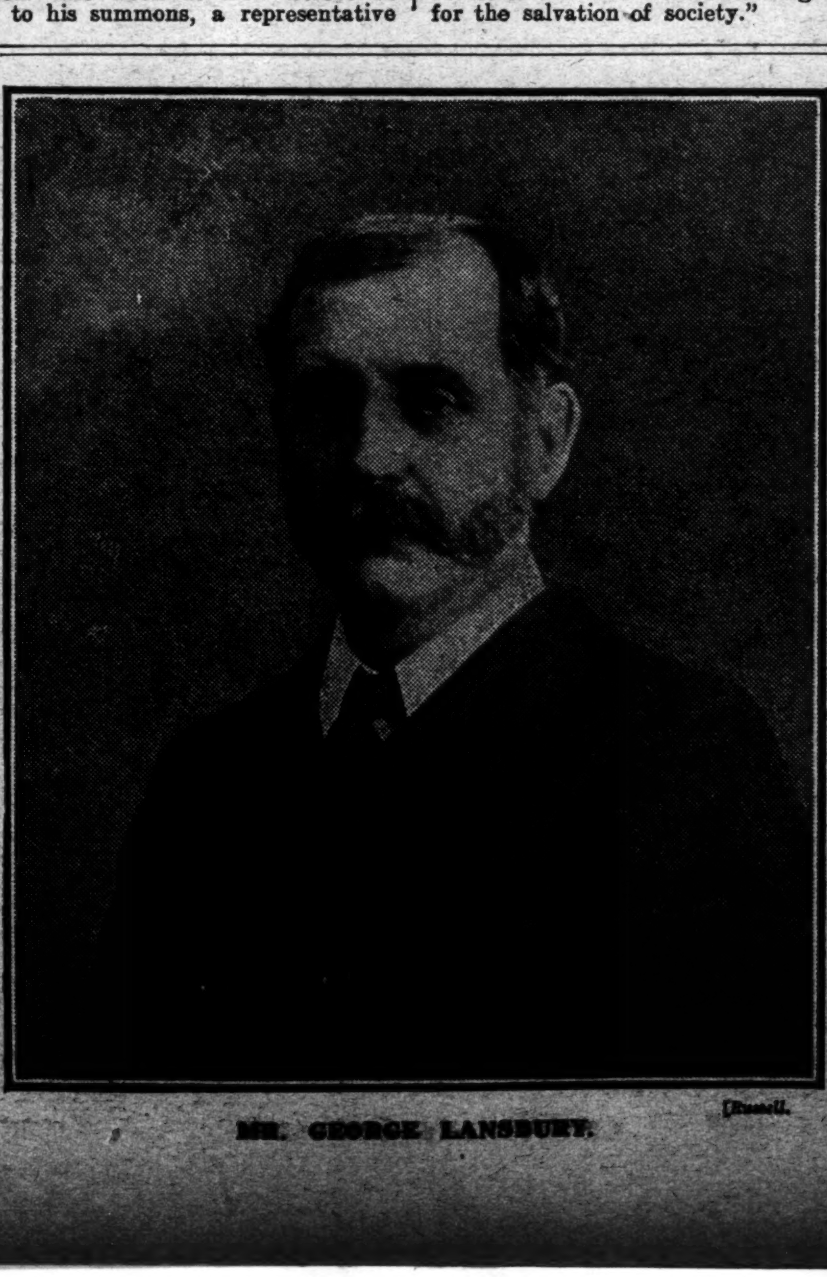
"One thing we were brought up against on the Poor Law and Unemployment Commission was the fact that so large a class of workers is lacking in initiative and mental adaptability. It was in delving into this problem that I began to realise to the full how little else can be expected so long as the mothers who have the rearing of them are cribbed and cabined mentally and physically as they now are.

"There was a day when English girls had some freedom in their lives—games in the fields, rambles in the lanes, birds'-nesting, perhaps now and again they pulled a boat up-stream or snared a rabbit. Now we have hundreds of thousands of our women who are the veriest drudges, toiling in a wilderness of bricks and mortar, their work looked down on, not expected or wanted to know anything about the affairs of their country, not even consulted about the very laws that govern them. Can we wonder that they fail to transmit to their growing boys and girls the initiative which is made impossible for themselves?

"I think that these are some of the thoughts which led me to desire a change in the position of women."

"So that when the present Woman's Movement came along you were ready for it?"

"Yes, I was in touch with it almost from the first, and I have never wavered in my belief that a revolt of the workers and a revolt of women are the two things needed for the salvation of society."



[Russell.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY.

THE FREE SPEECH CAMPAIGN

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The Home Secretary's Memory

In the House of Commons on Wednesday Sir William Byles asked the Home Secretary whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Home Office order prohibiting meetings in Hyde Park and elsewhere; and will he say how long it is since any similar interference with the right of public meeting has been found necessary on this side of the Irish Channel.

Mr. McKenna: There is no order. The meetings were stopped because without this being done the police could not carry out their duty of preserving the peace. The letter which the Commissioner of the Police wrote to those concerned warning them of the action taken for this purpose was published in the newspapers on the 18th inst., and was read by me on the same day in the House. Action has been taken by the police on previous occasions when the same necessity arose—at Liverpool in 1901, and at Streatham Common two years ago.

Sir William Byles: Has not experience shown that the prohibiting of meetings, either in this country or in Ireland, has had exactly the opposite effect to that intended?

Mr. McKenna: I daresay the general argument of my hon. Friend's statement may be true, but in the circumstances of this particular case I have no doubt that the measures taken will be effective.

Sir William Byles: Has the right hon. gentleman received any resolutions of protest against the prevention of public meetings in Hyde Park and elsewhere?

Mr. McKenna: I remember one, but I daresay I have had a great many more.

◆

THE FEELING IN THE COUNTRY

The feeling in the country roused by the prohibition of militant suffrage meetings is very great, especially among Labour organisations, who realise the danger to themselves of allowing the prohibition to remain in force without protest from them. If the Home Secretary's eye should happen to fall on this paragraph, we hope it may refresh his memory, for up to the time of going to press, resolutions of protest have been passed by the following bodies:—

National Union of Railwaymen, Euston Branch.

Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union, Emergency Committee.

Dockers' Union, East Ham Branch.

Bristol Free Speech Defence Committee.

British Socialist Party.

Sutton, Wallington, and District Socialist Society.

The following is the text of the resolution passed unanimously by the Bristol Free Speech Defence Committee last Sunday:—

"That this meeting of delegates representing the following local organisations: The Independent Labour Party, Bristol Trades Council, the Bristol Labour Representation Committee, Bristol Socialist Party, Independent Labour Party, Fabian Society, Socialist Labour Party, Co-operative Society Educational League, Industrial Syndicalist Education League, Bristol Anarchist Group, and the Bristol Women's Social and Political Union, calls attention to the attitude of the Government in attempting the suppression of the right of free speech in respect to the Women's Social and Political Union; and calls upon all lovers of liberty to take active and militant action until the authorities see fit to protect the right of public meetings for all citizens."

◆

FREE SPEECH IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Will It be Prohibited?

At a meeting of the Free Speech Defence Committee at the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. J. Wedgwood, M.P., presiding, it was decided to organise a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on the first Sunday in May to protest against the police prohibition of the militant suffragists' outdoor propaganda. Up to the time of going to press, we understand that the police have not granted the necessary permit for the meeting to be held.

◆

A PRESS COMMENT ON FREE SPEECH

The London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* says:—"It would appear probable that by the action of the Chief Commissioner of Police in London the suffragettes may have the opportunity of establishing a precedent not only in criminal but in constitutional law. To forbid the holding of public meetings is a very serious step for any public authority to take. It is quite conceivable that the holding of any well-conducted assembly may result in disturbances on the part of ill-disposed persons. This is not a reason for forbidding the meeting. It is only a reason for granting special protection to the holders thereof. The leading case on the subject is Beatty v. Gillbanks, which arose out of a meeting of the Salvation Army at Weston-super-Mare. An organised gang of roughs threatened to mishandle the Salvationists, and in fear of a riot the magistrate forbade the meeting, and when the gathering was held against orders the police "moved on" the Army and arrested one of its members. The High Court decided emphatically that the act of forbidding the meeting was wrong in law."

THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN

MILITANCY CONTINUES

There have been various cases of militancy during the week. Pillar-boxes have been attacked, and in several cases a large number of letters damaged, at Birmingham, Wanstead, Belfast, Drury Lane, Norwich, and Newport (Mon.). The paybox at the Ilford Football Ground was on Sunday night destroyed by fire. Suffragists are suspected. Two hayricks were burned down on a farm near the residence of Mr. C. E. Hobhouse, M.P., at Corsham, Wilts. Again Suffragists are suspected. On Monday, April 21, a package of inflammable materials is reported to have been found in the parish church at Minster, Isle of Thanet. Four boats and a number of cushions were burnt on Monday night in the boathouse at Handsworth Park, Birmingham.

"BOMBS"—EXPLODED

Recently, many attempts to blow up buildings by means of "bombs" and other dangerous forms of militancy have been reported in the Press. A number of these have subsequently been contradicted, while there is no evidence that the others were perpetrated by Suffragists, or that they were not grossly exaggerated.

Miss Naylor, taking the chair at the London Pavilion on Monday, the 21st, most emphatically contradicted the rumours and insinuations appearing in the papers to the effect that the W.S.P.U. had abandoned their policy of preserving life.

The firing of the old Sebastopol cannon at Dudley Castle, which we reported in our issue of April 11 as being attributed to Suffragists, is now known to have been a practical joke carried out by young men.

"Dangerous — Votes for Women — Beware—This station will be fired on Sunday night," ran a notice on a brown paper parcel found in a waiting-room at the Manchester Exchange Station. The parcel was removed and carefully soaked. Its contents resembled gun-cotton, but an analyst, called in by the police, stated that it was but "patent engine packing."

It was reported that at Hitchin stones were wedged between the points of the line just before the passing of a London express. A telegram from Hitchin, however, stated that this was quite incorrect. The railway officials knew nothing at all about it. Stones had been found in the points of a disused siding, 140 yards from the main line, but to this they attached no importance.

We have received the following letter, enclosing a newspaper report of a "bomb" found at the Aberdeen Railway Station:

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I enclose a cutting from Friday's *Evening Express*. Possibly it may interest your readers to hear that the "bomb" mentioned did not contain "black powder," but coal-dust, carefully granulated.

The "bomb," however, served its purpose, as it not only frightened several "officials," but also caused the *Aberdeen Journal* to print a special edition.—Yours, &c.,

Francis Mulligan.
Students' Representative Council,
University of Edinburgh.

◆

IN THE COURTS

Friday, April 18.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Dickinson, charged with being "disturbers of the peace and inciters of others to commit crimes and misdeameanours, and likely to persevere in this unlawful conduct and behaviour, and further disturbances were therefore likely to be done and committed by divers persons being women," Mrs. Drummond and Mr. George Lansbury; remanded on bail till April 26.

Tuesday, April 22.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Dickinson, charged on remand with being a "disturber of the peace" and "an inciter to others" to commit crimes, Miss Annie Kenney; remanded on bail till April 26.

At the North London Police Court, before Mr. Hedderwick, charged on remand with wilfully obstructing a police inspector and with using insulting words and behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace, Miss Annie Bell; fined £5 or 21 days in the second division.

At the Manchester Assizes, before Mr. Justice Bankes, charged with maliciously damaging thirteen pictures in the Manchester Art Gallery,

Miss Annie Briggs, Mrs. Lilian Forrester, and Miss Manesta; Miss Briggs found not guilty and discharged; Mrs. Forrester and Miss Manesta found guilty, sentence deferred.

Wednesday, April 23.—Mrs. Forrester sentenced to three months, and in default of being bound over to an additional six months; Miss Manesta to one month, and in default of being bound over to an additional four months.

◆

AN ASTONISHING DIALOGUE

Knowing what we do of the way in which the worst section of the populace is permitted, if not encouraged, to mob women Suffragists, the dialogue between Miss Annie Bell, the Suffragist charged with threatening to use a revolver against anyone who attacked her outside Holloway Gaol, and the magistrate, Mr. Hedderwick, when she was brought up on remand at the North London Police Court, was an astonishing performance. Here are some extracts from it, as reported in the press:—

Mr. Hedderwick, addressing the prisoner, said: You will probably be pleased to hear that the doctor does not find you to be wanting in wits.

Prisoner: I didn't suppose he would.

The Magistrate: But he finds evidence of marked illogical train in your views.

Prisoner: That is because he does not agree with my political views.

The Magistrate: You seemed to think that the police egged on the mob, instead of saving you from them.

Prisoner: They did egg on the mob.

The Magistrate: It is a very thankless task the police have in saving women who are attacked. If it were not for the police you women who adopt these extraordinary views would have a very bad time of it. As I see from the newspapers almost every day, your friends who are engaged in the same cause as you hold meetings, and are only too pleased to fly to the asylum of a policeman's arms. Now, you were found obstructing the police, and were armed with a revolver. I don't know that it is any use my giving you any advice.

Prisoner: Not at all. I don't think your advice is worth anything. You sided with the prosecution last time.

The Magistrate: If I offer you advice it is that you should stick to the needle, which is a far more valuable, useful, and heroic weapon than a revolver.

Prisoner: You had better stick to the needle and leave the Bench.

◆

RELEASED PRISONERS

Mrs. Marie Louisa Miles was released on Saturday, April 19, having completed the full term of her three months' imprisonment for window-breaking.

Miss Mabel Muriel Scholefield will be released to-day (Friday), after we go to press. She was sentenced on the same day as Mrs. Miles to three months' imprisonment, also for window-breaking, but was not granted as much remission.

Miss Margaret Llewhellin will be released to-morrow (Saturday), at the end of her sentence of one month, for breaking a window in the house of the Chief Government Whip.

◆

OVERHEARD OUTSIDE HOLLOWAY GAOL

Scene: Interior of a tram.

First Passenger (alluding to Suffragette pickets): "Pity they're not inside the gaol, ain't it?"

(Giggles from other passengers.)

Second Passenger (looking up from newspaper): "If we men were only half as good as those women, we should do."

(Not another jeer heard.)

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
*Mrs. Ethel Beckett	Feb. 7	3 „
Mrs. Maud Brindley	„ „	5 „
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 22	4 months
Miss Jane Short	„ „	6 „
†Miss Ella Stevenson	Mar. 5	9 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 months
Miss Margaret Llewhellin	Mar. 28	1 month
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 months
†Miss Phyllis Brady	April 12	6 weeks
†Miss Milicent Dean	April 12	6 weeks
Miss Annie Bell	April 22	3 weeks

At Manchester

Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 months
Miss Evelyn Manesta	April 23	5 months

In Wormwood Scrubbs Prison

†Mr. Hugh Franklin	Mar. 8	9 months

† Being forcibly fed.

* Sentence to be served over again from March 1 owing to unsuccessful appeal.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD*

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

1.—To take Votes for Women each week and read it.

2.—To circulate Votes for Women among friends.

3.—To sell Votes for Women in the streets or by house to house canvas.

4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.

5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in Votes for Women.

6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of Votes for Women posters.

7.—To secure new members for the Votes for Women Fellowship.

8.—To contribute to the Votes for Women Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.

9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of Votes for Women, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. Not being a Society, it needs to formulate neither rules nor conditions of membership, but simply to state the purpose which is to be achieved by active co-operation. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so Votes for Women does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of Votes for Women give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

*** The above, in the form of a four-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

THE PRESS AND THE MOVEMENT

FREE SPEECH

THE USEFUL PRECEDENT

We are not surprised to see the *Morning Post* welcoming the "useful precedents" of the Home Office as available for Tory administrators dealing with strike-meetings or "more dangerous" forms of "political" crime.—**Nation.**

KIND!

The women are doing their best to put themselves outside the pale of civilisation. Still, the hostility of the mob is no more to be condoned than the outrages of the militants. . . . And, though there is undeniably a strong element of provocation, the militant women have the same right as anybody else to express their opinions, unpopular as by their actions they are making them. — **Sheffield Daily Telegraph.**

WHERE IS THAT PARTY NOW?

But where in regard to all this is the Labour Party? We know its members are all peaceable, law-abiding men, but even so surely these latest escapades of the Government will awaken them from their peaceful dreams. For is it not quite certain that if the Government can cast men and women into gaol for doing nothing during a Suffragist agitation the same thing can quite easily be done during a Labour dispute?—**Daily Herald.**

SITTING ON THE SAFETY VALVE

All this accumulation of desperate devices of the nature of sitting on the safety valve confirms the view that the Government is nearing a crisis in its dealings with the movement. The Government has in its power a perfectly easy method of putting down the disturbances of the handful of rowdies who enjoy women baiting. They are essentially cowards, and a few sharp sentences of imprisonment would put an end to the difficulty. In Dublin last summer, when the police made up their minds to deal with this hooliganism, a couple of arrests and one sentence of imprisonment proved an ample deterrent. But instead of this, the English magistrates are imposing only fines on such rowdies as the police choose to arrest, and some of these judicial minds have actually suggested to the Government that the meetings ought to be prohibited. It is, of course, an old device of coercionist governments to suppress the meetings of its political opponents; but how woefully it contrasts with the professions of Liberalism!—**Irish Citizen.**

THE ALARMED AND LIFELONG DEMOCRAT

As defenders of free speech for thirty years past, we cannot but view with alarm the action of the Home Office in forbidding the Suffragette meetings in London parks. The cause of democracy and of freedom of utterance is thus being endangered through the Women's Social and Political Union. By the advocacy of arson and sabotage at their meetings they have played into the hands of Mr. McKenna, and have afforded him good grounds for his present action.—**Justice.**

ANOTHER DEMOCRAT

Jealously as we cherish the right of public and open debate of the questions of the day, we welcome Mr. McKenna's decision, as much in the interests of the women as of public order.—**Western Morning News.**

CHIVALRY ALARMED

We have frequently urged that the meetings should be stopped, if only to preserve some reverence and respect for the weaker sex. It is not good for men, and still less for children, to see women pelted with clods of earth, and openly insulted in the public parks. — **County and City Observer.**

◆

THE SUFFRAGE BILL

We do not believe that the House of Commons will be coerced by militants into the acceptance of a measure which is generally condemned. If it did, the country would soon display, in an emphatic manner, its displeasure at such a betrayal. Probably the average member will solve the difficulty in a pleasant and practical manner. The Bill will come up for discussion just three days before the Whitsuntide recess. The great majority of members will probably elongate a well-earned holiday by those three days. The remainder can do what they like. If it amuses them to pass the Bill no one will object. It would embarrass the Government and would not hurt the country. There is nothing more certain than that every member who values his seat will reject it at a later stage.—**Globe.**

In our judgment, there is but one solution. Just as Lady Frederick Cavendish remained a Home Ruler after the assassination of her husband in Phœnix Park, so let members of Parliament recognise that the deplorable outrages of a small number of militants do not affect the justice of the issue; let them not trifle with this question or allow the situation to drift into deeper disaster, but vote according to the pledges they have given.—**Baptist Times.**

"WOMEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I am sorry to have missed Mrs. Annie Levy's article of March 21, but I note Mrs. McKenna's reply today. May I add a rejoinder? The Old Testament has no command of wifely obedience. When Sarah is recorded to have obeyed Abraham it was to act a lie, and both were blamed. On the other hand when Sarah wished to do certain things Abraham was told to do all things that his wife said! When Nabal gave certain orders, Abigail not only defied them and contradicted them, but called him a "fool"; the result was not rebuke or dispraise, but "Blessed be thou of the Lord." We know nothing of Lapidoth's opinions; his wife Deborah took her own way and obeyed the Lord's mission to her.

Mrs. McKenna, following the mistranslations and misreadings of Talmudists and Churchmen, tries to annihilate Mrs. Levy's arguments by the oft-quoted Genesis iii., 16, "Thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Let us analyse this passage and apply a parallel passage, so as to understand it. This is not, as it is often called, "The woman's curse." It is the Lord's sad prophecy of the wickedness of man in consequence of his fall. We may see this at once, by turning to Genesis iv., 7: "And the Lord said unto Cain, 'If thou doest well shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doest not well sin lieth at the door. And unto thee will be his desire and thou shalt rule over him.'" The word may be translated, may be read, as "appeal"; it means the same in both cases. "The woman," and "righteous Abel" are classed together, as appealing to "the man" and "Cain" against tyranny and oppression, resulting in death in Abel's case and often worse in the woman's.

Now let us turn back to the sad story of the Fall. In it there is one blessing, one gleam of hope, and that is through and by "the woman." The Lord curses only the serpent (and the ground for the man's sake). While cursing the serpent He blesses "the woman." "I will put enmity between thee and the woman and between thy seed and her seed." We all know that the latter phrase means the promised Messiah, Who was to come through and by the woman. But no anti-Suffragist has ever measured the extent of the first phrase, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman." *Woman* is by that phrase constituted the great champion of humanity in the fight with *evil*, and whoever fetters or handicaps her in the tremendous struggle of the Universe, is deliberately aiding and abetting "the Serpent" and all his slimy brood. Mrs. C. C. Stopes' leaflet, "Woman and Revelation," enters into all this more fully.—Yours, &c.,

Age.

WILLIAM
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MEDICAL WOMEN

Death of a Pioneer

A pioneer in the medical education of women has passed away in Dr. Agnes McLaren, whose death was announced in last Tuesday's papers. It was at the house of her father, the late Mr. Duncan McLaren, M.P. for Edinburgh, that the agitation originated for opening the medical schools to women, with which such names as Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., Dr. Jex Blake and other pioneer women doctors are associated. Dr. McLaren herself graduated at the University of Montpelier in France, and became a specialist practitioner at Cannes. Later, she devoted herself to active propaganda against the White Slave Traffic and kindred evils, and was well known to a large circle of philanthropists of all nations.

A Woman Doctor's Evidence

Dr. Alice Corthorn's able work in fighting the plague in India was recalled to the public mind last Monday, when she gave evidence in the anti-vivisection libel case just concluded. The *Daily Graphic*, in a leading article, says:—

"Mr. Justice Bucknill, in telling Dr. Alice Corthorn, the lady doctor who has been through the most disastrous of recent epidemics of the Indian plague, that whatever the effect of her evidence on the case in which she appeared as witness, 'we all admire your courage immensely,' was paying a compliment which can be endorsed by everyone."

SIR CHARLES D. ROSE

In the death under tragic circumstances of Sir Charles D. Rose, M.P., Woman Suffragists have lost a supporter. The late Member was always a strong adherent of Votes for Women, and not an opponent of militancy, for on more than one occasion he contributed to the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union.

A NEW SUFFRAGE MONTHLY

A new Suffrage monthly has appeared in the *Free Church Suffrage Times*, published at one penny. A frontispiece by C. Fleming Williams illustrates the aims of the Free Church League by showing a man and a woman steering the barque of human destiny together; and the spirit of the League is ably indicated in the editorial note which forms the prelude to the first number. There are interesting articles on "The Religious Aspect of the Woman's Question" by different preachers and thinkers, and plenty of Suffrage news. We wish our new contemporary all success.

"THE DOG IT WAS THAT DIED"

In a report of a Suffrage meeting at Newport (Mon.), the *Standard*, an anti-Suffrage organ, and presumably a supporter of the theory that women are physically unfit for political responsibility, states that "eggs were thrown at Mrs. D. A. Thomas and other leaders. *A policeman fainted and had to be carried away.*"

The italics are ours.

"THE LIBERAL OSTRICH"

The cartoon with the above title which appeared in last week's Votes for Women has caused some of our readers to write and point out that a short account of the Albert Hall meeting did appear in the "Late London Edition" of the *Daily News* on April 11. We are glad to hear that this was the case, but would point out that our cartoon was founded on the omission of all mention of the meeting from the earlier edition, which is the one supplied to the mass of the public at their breakfast tables.

COMING EVENTS

The Actresses' Franchise League announce a lecture at their offices to-day (Friday), at 5 p.m., when Mr. J. Cameron Grant will speak on "How Votes Affect Wages"; tickets, price 6d. each. The League will hold a Grand Meeting at the Drury Lane Theatre on Friday, May 2 (by permission of Mr. Arthur Collins and Mr. Forbes Robertson), at 3 p.m. Lady Willoughby de Broke will take the chair, and the speakers will include Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Compton, Miss Gertrude Elliott, Miss Eva Moore, and Miss Irene Vanbrugh. Tickets—price 3s. to 6d.—can be obtained at the offices of the League.

The New Constitutional Society of Women's Suffrage will hold a meeting at the L.C.C. Schools, Commercial Road, Whitechapel, to-day (Friday) at 8 p.m.; speakers, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, and Miss McGowan. The Society announce a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, April 27, at 12 noon, and another at their offices on Tuesday, April 29, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Horace Crawfurd will speak.

The Women's Tax Resistance League have arranged a meeting to be held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 28, at 8 p.m., to expose, in view of the introduction of the Finance Bill, "the official robbery of married women and to demand a just amendment to the Income Tax Act." Chair, Mrs. Cecil Chapman; speakers, Earl Russell, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, and Miss Amy Hicks, M.A. Tickets, 2s. 6d. to 6d., obtainable at the offices of the League and at the International Suffrage Shop.

The Men's Political Union will hold a meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday, April 29, at 8 p.m., to protest against the forcible feeding of Mr. Hugh Franklin, and to demand his instant release. Mr. H. W. Nevinson will take the chair, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Israel Zangwill, and others will speak. Tickets, 2s. to 3d., obtainable at the M.P.U. Office, at the International Suffrage Shop, at W.S.P.U. Shops and Offices, or at the Hall. The newly-formed Oxford University Branch of the Union will hold its inaugural meeting at Oxford tomorrow (Saturday) at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Gerald Gould, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson. Old Oxford men desirous of attending the meeting are asked to communicate with the secretary, Harold Laski, New College, Oxford.

The Suffrage Club announce a lecture on Tuesday, April 29, at 3.30, when the speakers will be Dr. Ede and George Montagu, Esq. Chair, Miss Gertrude Eaton. Subject, "Women and Children Criminals: the Need for Reform in our Penal System."

A meeting will be held by the Paddington Votes for Women Shop at the Paddington Town Hall (Harrow Road), on Tuesday, April 29, at 8 p.m. Speakers, Mrs. Brailsford, Dr. Letitia Fairfield, and the Rev. N. E. Egerton Swann, B.A. Tickets, 1s. and 6d., must be purchased at the Shop, 52, Praed Street, before the meeting; women admitted free at 7.50.

The Women's Freedom League will hold its weekly meeting at the Caxton Hall on Wednesday, April 30, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Miss Anna Munro and Dr. G. B. Clark.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Town Hall, Saffron Walden, on Friday, May 2, at 7.30 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mr. Baillie Weaver. Tickets, 2s. 6d. to 6d., obtainable from Mr. Hart, Stationer, Saffron Walden.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a meeting at the Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E., on Monday, May 5, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. George Lansbury and Mrs. M. E. Davies (in Welsh); chair Mrs. Mansell-Moullin.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
125, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation,
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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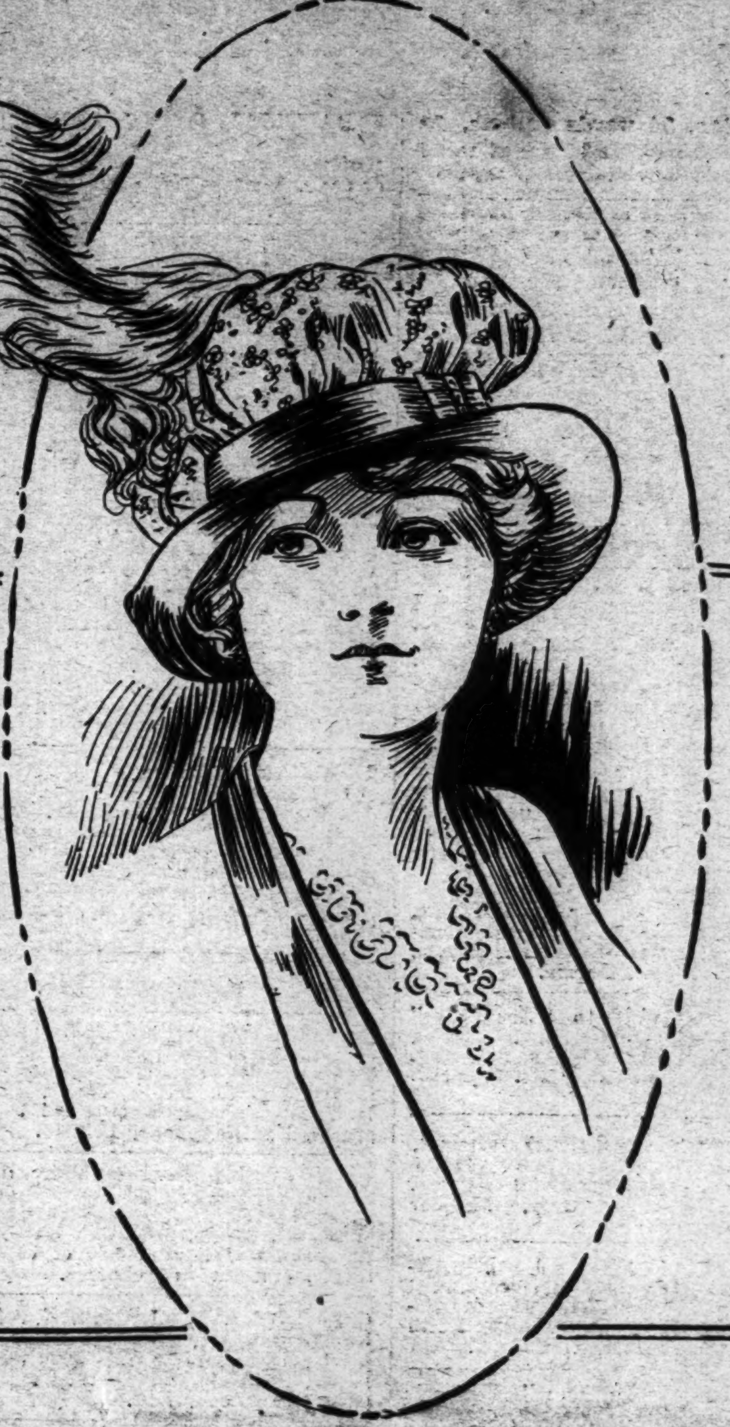

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